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Pestalozzi

Præmium iv.
In Classe Ordinaria.

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Donald Mackay
Præmium hocce Academicum,
Ex certamine inter æquales
In Pædeuticis Disciplinis habito,
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Jo. Clarke
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Aberdon, Kal. ~~April~~, Jun.
MDCCCC XXI.

PESTALOZZI

HIS LIFE AND WORK

BY

ROGER DE GUIMPS

AUTHORIZED TRANSLATION FROM THE SECOND FRENCH EDITION

By J. RUSSELL, B.A.
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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY REV. R. H. QUICK, M.A.
AND A FRONTISPIECE PORTRAIT

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INTRODUCTION.

"I READ your essay on Pestalozzi," said to me one of the three Commissioners who were some twenty years ago empowered to remodel our endowed schools; "I read your essay on Pestalozzi, whom they are always talking about on the Continent, and I found there was nothing whatever in him." This might have been a very effective sarcasm, but I have reason to think that it was not so intended. It was only an expression of our insular ignorance, and of our inability to measure the effect of ideas. Since then we have seen France prostrate before Germany; and not a few, both of the Germans and the French, have attributed the German triumph to the influence of Pestalozzi. So perhaps there was something in him after all.

But what was there in these ideas of Pestalozzi which can be supposed to have so profoundly affected the education of the Germans? Let us go back a little *pour mieux sauter*.

Europe was indebted to the Renascence for the conception of "a learned education." The key to all wisdom seemed to have been found in the classical languages, and the highest display of the human intellect was seen in imitating the ancient writings. So education was for the few; the many might do as best they could without it.

This sixteenth-century devotion to the classical literatures met with many adversaries in the centuries following; but the notion had got so firmly fixed that education consisted in learning, that the only question it seemed possible to raise was, In learning what?

A great advance was made by our philosopher Locke, when he treated of education under the four heads: (1) Virtue; (2) Wisdom; (3) Manners; (4) Learning; and declared that learning was least and last. But according to him, the education of the gentleman was the only thing to be cared for. "If," says he, "those of that rank are by their education once set right, they will quickly bring all the rest into order." (*Epistle Ded.* to "*Thoughts c. Educ.*")

Then came Rousseau. From the circumstances of his life he had no class prejudices, and he had a genius for thinking himself free from all conventions. He it was who first severed entirely education and learning, and brought up his ideal Emile without any regard to the requirements of "Society."

Pestalozzi was, like Rousseau, a citizen of the Swiss Republic, and little fettered by class distinctions. He read Rousseau with enthusiasm, and saw what a force education might become. His great object in life was the elevation of the people, and the consequence was, he became "a schoolmaster."

But his notions of the schoolmaster's function were based on conceptions which then for the first time came clearly into consciousness.

First, as to the aim of education, he announces that *every human being is entitled to the development of the faculties he was born with.*

Then as to the nature of the educator's task, he says that it consists in *a continual benevolent superintendence, with the object of drawing out those faculties.*

There is a strange contrast between the men Rousseau and Pestalozzi. Rousseau was a voice, and nothing else. Everything that he did tended to lessen the influence of everything that he wrote. But Pestalozzi taught mainly by action. In him the most interesting thing is *his life.*

One of the best authorities we have had on education, my friend Professor Joseph Payne, drew my attention to the excellent biography of Pestalozzi by the Baron de Guimps. Professor Payne has now been taken from us more than thirteen years, and I have been hoping all those years to find as good a translator as my friend would have wished for this valuable book. At last such a translator has been found in a Cambridge friend, Mr. Russell, who was a pupil of mine more than twenty years ago, and who has since become familiar with French educational life and speech as a master in a *Lycée.* The completion of his task has been delayed by his waiting for the new edition; but now the work has a suitable English dress, I trust we shall find a large increase in the number of Englishmen and Englishwomen who can discern that there *is* something in Pestalozzi.

R. H. QUICK.

REDHILL.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION [1888].

"In half a century from now every social stay will be shaken." These words were spoken eighty-three years ago by a man who, to save the poor had made himself poor; who had lived as a pauper with paupers to teach paupers to live like men; and who, after having sounded all the depths of the moral and intellectual poverty hidden beneath the brilliant civilization of his time, had come out of the experience terrified for the future of society, but bringing it a means of salvation. This man, whose prediction we now see fulfilled, was Henry Pestalozzi.

It is important to have complete knowledge of a man who, throughout a long life, sacrificed himself for what was, perhaps, the most fertile idea of modern times—the regeneration of nations by elementary education; a man who, passionately loving the people in spite of their ignorance and vices, sought to teach and raise them even before they had made themselves feared; a man who, in his ardent desire to help humanity, became, in turn, theologian, lawyer, agriculturist, manufacturer, author, journalist, and schoolmaster; a man who, amid flattery from kings and people, never swerved a moment from his course; a man, finally, whose bold and original genius was, to the very last, combined with the openness, simplicity, and absolute trust of a child.

Such was Pestalozzi. In another age and in other circumstances he would have been a saint. The Catholic Church has few greater or purer.

The life of this man offers strange contrasts. It will seem full of eccentricities, blunders, and even follies, unless we are guided by a perfect knowledge of his character and of the idea which was the mainspring of all his actions.

His child-like trust, which prevented him from thoroughly understanding the men of his time, led him into many an error, and caused the failure of his undertakings, and the world, that believes only in success, condemned Pestalozzi.

But posterity has been fairer to him,[1] and to-day his memory is venerated and his devotion admired. We see that it is to him we owe the reform of elementary education, a reform, however, which, notwithstanding the progress already made, is still far from complete.

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[1] The town of Yverdun is just about to honour the memory of the famous man who lived there for so long, a bronze statue of Pestalozzi with two poor children being almost ready for inauguration.

And yet Pestalozzi is still very little known, and not at all understood, even those who have heard of him having but a vague idea of the principles that guided him, and of the end that, in spite of disappointment and failure, he steadily pursued for so long.

Throughout his life Pestalozzi had always the same object in view; and though the idea which animated him developed with age and experience, it never really changed. As the illusions of his youth vanished, his work appeared more holy and more beautiful, and the means he had employed more and more insufficient. And so he never ceased in his efforts to perfect and complete them. No man was ever less satisfied with himself; no man was ever so quick to learn from experience. In one thing alone did he refuse to listen to its teaching: ingratitude never lessened his kindness, nor deceit his trust.

A history of Pestalozzi must, above all, be a history of the development of the great idea which, in its successive stages, he sought to put into practice in the various enterprises of his life. In this way alone can it be true, clear, and complete.

Such is the task we have set ourselves in writing this book, in which all who wish to understand Pestalozzi's work will find its true results, and, we hope, some practical help for the improvement of education.

Pestalozzi, like other men, had his faults and his weaknesses, which it would be unfair to the public and to him to hide. To the public, the historian's duty is to hide nothing of the truth; to Pestalozzi, to show him as he himself has chosen to appear in his appeal to posterity (*Song of the Swan*) in which, in an excess of humility and forbearance, he has even gone so far as to say that his faults alone were the cause of his misfortunes, condemning himself that he might save the beneficent idea he was bequeathing to humanity. His glory will lose nothing if we respect this last wish.

Pestalozzi's great and beautiful character is like no other; the eagle and the dove, the lion and the lamb are there, the woman and the child, perhaps, more than the man. Its originality, to be fully understood, must be studied from its very earliest growth, and hence the importance of every detail we have been able to collect concerning the childhood of a man who has already had so many biographers, but the history of whose life is still so full of error and defects.

Amongst the innumerable works on Pestalozzi, we must particularly notice Pompée's, which was published in Paris in 1850, under the auspices of the Academy of Moral and Political Science.

He gives certain facts which are generally wanting in the Swiss and German biographers, and which we have made use of in the present work. He draws, too, a very true and lively picture of the man and his life of devotion; but the account of the fall of the Yverdun Institute is so full of strange errors and mistaken views, that it would seem that the author must have drawn from a source which was not entirely trustworthy. It is this, undoubtedly, that has made him unfair to many of Pestalozzi's friends and fellow-workers.

Before finishing this work, on which we have been long engaged, we were fortunately able to profit by the many German publications which, for some years past, have been throwing new light on the life and work of Pestalozzi.

Two in particular have been very useful to us:—

First, that of Mr. Morf, at one time head of the Training College in Canton Berne, and then Director of the Orphanage at Winterthur, entitled, *Documents for the Biography of Henry Pestalozzi.* Mr. Morf has gone through public records, private letters, family papers, and indeed anything that was likely to throw light on the life of his hero, with indefatigable zeal, and judges the work of the educational reformer with much pedagogical penetration.[1]

The second is that of Mr. Seyffarth, of Luckenwalde, near Brandenburg, who, between 1870 and 1873, published in eighteen volumes the first really complete edition of Pestalozzi's works. Cotta's edition, in 1826, included many books which were not written by the master, but by his assistants, whilst several of Pestalozzi's most important works were wanting. Mr. Seyffarth has further enriched his collection by the addition of several interesting and characteristic smaller works which had remained unpublished, and by prefacing each of the bigger works with a well-written introduction.

How is it that so much has been talked and written about Pestalozzi in Germany lately? Because she knows her present greatness is owing, in a large measure, to him.

After Jena, when Napoleon persisted in rejecting the principles of the Swiss Reformer, Germany, on the contrary, adopted them, and, reorganizing her public education in this spirit, produced a generation of men who were not only instructed but educated. Afterwards, however, she gradually neglected Pestalozzi's doctrine, especially from the moral point of view, and the Prussian schools degenerated. To-day, for instance, they would be incapable of forming men like those the country still possesses in the flower of their age. All the best minds are well aware of this, and an effort is being made to restore to his old honourable position the man whose educational doctrine was one of the chief means of raising Prussia when she had fallen so low.

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[1] He has lately published a second book, entitled, *Leaves from the Story of Pestalozzi's Life and Sorrows.*

At Easter, 1872, there was a Congress in Berlin of delegates from the Societies of Elementary Teachers in Brandenburg, Saxony, Hanover, and Hesse-Nassau. The Congress represented more than ten thousand teachers, and decided upon the creation of a National Society of German Elementary Teachers, the headquarters of which should be in Berlin.

On the 4th of April, Dr. Falk, the Minister of Religion and Education, received a deputation of delegates, who made three requests in the name of the Congress.

According to the *Hanover Courier* the third request ran thus:—

"The extension of the programme of study for elementary teachers, and the organization of training schools in accordance with the pedagogic principles of Pestalozzi, which, thanks to the protection of Queen Louisa, Stein, William Humboldt, Fichte, etc., formerly enjoyed so much favour in Prussia and so visibly contributed to the regeneration of the country."

In France, the first attempts at educational reform in the spirit of Pestalozzi were owing to the efforts of men like Cochin and Pompée; not however that the full value of the labours of the Swiss pedagogue was not recognized at the outset by a large number of distinguished men of all shades of opinion. It will be enough to mention Maine de Biran, de Vailly, Georges Cuvier, de Gérando, de Lasteyrie, Madame de Staël, de Clermont-Tonnerre, de Dreux-Brézé, Bourbon-Busset, Biot, Geoffroi-Saint-Hilaire, Sébastiani, de Laborde, Gaultier, Jomard, Choron, Ordinaire, Matter, Delessert, de Broglie, Casimir Perrier, and Victor Cousin. But it is since the labours of Madame Pape-Carpentier, and especially since the conferences on *sense-impressing*[1] teaching in the Exhibition of 1878, that we may say that every intelligent teacher in France has sought to reduce elementary education to the principles laid down by Pestalozzi. The pedagogical works published during the last ten or fifteen years are all animated by the same spirit; and if they do not all explicitly recommend the Pestalozzian method, they at least obey the tendency. May the book we are now publishing contribute to the success of their efforts!

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[1] This word—or *sense-impressed*—I have used throughout for *intuitif* (*anschaulich*). For *intuition* (*Anschaulichkeit*) I have said *sense-impression*. [Translator.]

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Pestalozzi: His Life and Work.

CHAPTER I.

PESTALOZZI THE CHILD.

Influence of home on his character; influence of school and of a visit to the country. To help the poor, he decides to be a village pastor.

In 1567, Antony Pestalozzi, a Protestant refugee from Chiavenna, and his wife Madeline de Muralt, of Locarno, also an exile from her country through having adopted the reformed faith, found refuge in the town of Zurich. From them was descended Andrew Pestalozzi, who was a pastor at Höngg near Zurich, and the grandfather of the subject of this biography.[1]

Andrew's son, John Baptist, was a surgeon of good standing in Zurich, and had acquired some reputation as an oculist; he had married Susanna Hotz, of Richterswyl, a beautiful village on the edge of the lake of Zurich. Susanna was a sister of the well-known Dr. Hotz, and the niece of the General Hotz who was killed at Schœnnis in 1799.

Henry, the subject of this biography, was the son of John Baptist Pestalozzi, and was born on the 12th of January, 1746. His early home and the circumstances of his childhood had so great an influence on his character that we must give some account of them.

In the middle of the town of Zurich stands a large bridge, used as a market for flowers, fruit, and vegetables, and connecting a small square on the left bank of the Limmat with the square in which the Town Hall stands on the opposite side. Not far from the latter building and the quay there is a small, old-fashioned square called Rüdenplatz, leading, on the south, into a very narrow street. The corner house fronting the street is the house where Pestalozzi was born. It is numbered five, and bears the date 1691; the ground-floor, which is now used as a warehouse, was probably in 1746 the shop where, according to the custom of the time, the chirurgeon John Pestalozzi sold his simples and his drugs.

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[1] The parish registers of Höngg afford evidence of the mistake of those biographers who call this pastor Hotz and make him the maternal grandfather of Pestalozzi.

It was an old custom in Zurich for every house to have a name and sign; that in which Pestalozzi's parents lived was called *The Black Horn.*[1]

Henry was only just five years old when his father died, leaving a widow and three children (two boys and a girl), but very little fortune. Baptist, the eldest boy, died young; the girl, Barbara, eventually married a Mr. Gross, a merchant in Leipsic, and corresponded all her life with her brother Henry, to whom she was very much attached.

Susanna Pestalozzi was a gifted woman and an admirable mother. Having been well brought up herself, she now thought of nothing but her duty to her children, and it was undoubtedly the educational advantages of Zurich that made her prefer this town to the pleasanter and easier life she might have led near her brother at Richterswyl. She must, however, have succumbed under the difficulties of the task she had set herself, had it not been for the devotion of a faithful servant. But here we will quote from Pestalozzi's own account of his early education:—

"My mother devoted herself to the education of her three children with the most complete abnegation, foregoing everything that could have given her pleasure. In this noble sacrifice she was supported by a poor young servant whom I can never forget. During the few months she had been in our service, my father had been struck by her rare fidelity and unusual quickness. On his deathbed, agonized at the thought of what the consequence of his death might be for his family that he was leaving almost penniless, he sent for her, and said: 'Babeli, for the love of God and all His mercies, do not forsake my wife! What will become of her after my death? My children will fall into the hands of strangers and their lot will be hard. Without your help she cannot possibly keep her children with her.' Her noble, simple heart was touched, and her soul accepted the sacrifice. 'If you die,' she said, 'I will not forsake your wife, but I will remain with her, if needs be, till death.' Her words soothed my poor father, a gleam of joy shone in his eyes, and he died happily.

---

[1] Some have maintained that Pestalozzi was born at the *Red Lattice*, 23, Münsterstrasse, a house which bears the inscription, *Honour to God alone*, 1664, and which is a little lower down than the one occupied by his friend Lavater. This is a mistake, for it is contradicted not only by local tradition but by Pestalozzi's own statements, as we shall see. It is true, however, that at the age of eighteen Pestalozzi lived with his mother at the *Red Lattice*.

"She kept her word, for she stayed with my mother till she died, helping her to bring up her three children under the most difficult and painful circumstances imaginable, and showing in this work of patient devotion a tact and delicacy which were the more astonishing, seeing that she was entirely without education and had left her native village only a few months before to try and find a situation in Zurich.

"Her fidelity and dignity of manner were a result of her piety and simple faith. However painful the conscientious fulfilment of her promise may sometimes have been, it never once occurred to her that she might break it.

"My mother's position as a widow necessitated the most careful economy, and the trouble that Babeli took to do what was almost impossible, is hardly credible. To save a farthing or two in the purchase of vegetables or fruit, she would go two or three times to the market, waiting for the moment when the peasants would be anxious to get rid of their goods for the sake of returning home. The same careful economy was applied to everything, otherwise my mother's slender means would not have sufficed for our housekeeping expenses. When we children wanted to be off somewhere and there was no particular reason for us to go, Babeli would stop us, saying: 'Why do you want to go and spoil your clothes and shoes to no purpose? See how your mother goes without everything for your sakes, how she never leaves the house for months together, how she is saving every farthing for your education.' But of herself, of what she did for us, of her continual sacrifices, the noble girl never spoke. The economy in the house was not allowed to interfere in any way with the family traditions, and the money devoted to alms, gratuities, and new year's gifts was out of all proportion to our personal expenses. Although these extra disbursements always troubled my mother and Babeli, they never hesitated to make them. My brother, my sister and myself had all fine Sunday clothes, but we wore them very little, always taking them off as soon as we got indoors, in order that they might last the longer. When my mother expected visitors, no pains were spared to make our one room fit to receive them."[1]

This economy did not prevent the children from occasionally having a little pocket-money. One day, when little Henry had a few pence in his pocket, he was tempted by the good things in a confectioner's window near his home and went in to buy something. The house, which was in the square and has since been restored, was called *The Plough.* The shopkeeper's name was Schulthess, and inside Henry found little Anna Schulthess minding the shop. The girl was only seven years older than he was, but she refused to sell him anything and advised him to keep his money till he could make a better use of it. She who now gave him this excellent piece of advice afterwards became his wife, and remained his good angel till her death.

Thus Pestalozzi passed his childhood in an atmosphere of love, devotion, and peace, of rigid economy and of noble generosity. It was this, undoubtedly, that made him trustful, self-forgetful, calm, and affectionate, and gave him that gentle, sincere, and active piety which finds pleasure even in renunciation and privation. At the same time his imagination did not remain dormant, indeed its development seemed to make up in a measure for his lack of physical activity. The little fellow, nearly always shut up at home, listened eagerly to tales and readings, of which he never forgot a word. On the contrary, he turned them over and over in his mind, putting himself in the place of his heroes and making them act differently with different results. Already he was busy with thoughts which took him far away from the realities of his life.

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[1] Letter from Pestalozzi to Professor Ith, 1802.

The education Pestalozzi received from his mother left ineffaceable memories in his heart. Mothers, to him, were the ideal educators; it was to them he addressed his advice and exhortations, and on them that he relied for the regeneration of the people. And is not he himself an example of how much a man's childhood may be influenced by the care, love, and devotion of a good mother? And may we not think that if Rousseau had been brought up by a good mother, his genius might have been entirely beneficent?

But however excellent Pestalozzi's early education may have been in all the most important points, and especially in the development of his affections, it was bound to be incomplete. The boy, puny from his birth, always indoors, brought up entirely by women, deprived of a father's influence, of all contact with boys of his own age, and of outdoor games and interests, remained all his life small and weak, shy and awkward, changeable and impressionable. As Niederer, who afterwards became his friend and helper, once said: "In Pestalozzi there was as much of the woman as of the man."

The springs of young Pestalozzi's life were in the heart and imagination alone; his thought, swift to perceive the relations between things, and often turned in on itself, left him absent-minded, inattentive, and careless about mere formalities, and, as a general rule, about the material conditions of life. He was unaware of the exceptional character of the family-life he had enjoyed, and ignorant of what the society of men in general was like. It is easy to judge from this how many bitter disappointments were in store for him.

They commenced as soon as he went to school. Although he often gave proof of penetration, he was unsuccessful with most of his work; indeed, he wrote and spelt so badly that his master judged him to be utterly incapable. His companions liked him for his good disposition and obliging nature, but they took advantage of his good qualities to make a butt of him. Pestalozzi speaks of himself at this period of his life as follows:—

"The failures which would have sadly troubled other children hardly affected me. However much I might have desired or dreaded anything, when it was once over. and I had had two or three nights of good sleep after it, if it concerned me alone, it was just as though it had never been. From my childhood I have been everybody's plaything. My education, which gave food to all the dreams of my fancy, left me alike incapable of doing what everybody does, and of enjoying what everybody enjoys. From the very first, little children, my schoolfellows, sent me where they would rather not go, and I went; in short I did all they wanted. The day of the earthquake at Zurich,[1] when masters and boys rushed pell-mell downstairs, and nobody would venture back into the class-room, it was I who went to fetch the caps and books. But, in spite of all this, there was no intimacy between my companions and myself. Although I worked hard, and learned some things well, I had none of their ability for the ordinary lessons, and so I could not take it amiss that they dubbed me Harry Oddity of Foolborough.[2]

"More than any other child, I was always running my head against the wall for mere trifles; but it did not trouble me. I thought I could do many things which were quite beyond me; I measured the whole world by my mother's house and my schoolroom, and the ordinary life of men was almost as unknown to me as if I had lived in another world."[3]

From the time that he was nine years old, young Pestalozzi was invited every summer to spend a few weeks with his grandfather, Andrew Pestalozzi, the pastor at Höngg, a village about three miles from Zurich.

This village is magnificently situated; the hills on which it lies, on the right bank of the Limmat, slope rapidly on the south to the river, on the other side of which the ground is lower and covered with houses. The land at Höngg is rich and divided into fields, vineyards, and large orchards. The parsonage, which is close to the church, is still the same as a hundred years ago, though parts of it have been restored and modernized. The gardens which surround it were formerly narrow terraces built on the side of the hill. The dining-room, which is in the south-east corner of the building, and has large windows looking east and south commanding a beautiful view of the basin of the Limmat, is unchanged, save that a small stove, in white porcelain, has replaced the enormous green structure that formerly stood there.

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[1] The 19th of December, 1755.

[2] As Mr. Quick has well put it. [Tr.]

[3] Letter to Ith, already quoted.

It was in this place that Pestalozzi, the schoolboy, passed his happy holidays; here that he learned to love Nature and the work of the fields; and here that he first conceived the noble idea to which he was destined to devote his whole life.

Already at that time the peasants of this canton had begun to combine industry with agriculture. As yet there were neither factories nor machinery, it is true, but in every family there was a certain amount of spinning done by hand.

By accompanying his grandfather on his daily visits to the schools, the sick and the poor of his parish, the child was initiated into the realities of the life of the people; and although this was his first acquaintance with their sufferings, he was touched with profound compassion for them, and from that moment there burned in his heart an unquenchable desire to find some remedy for the evil.

A village pastor has a sublime task, but a very difficult one; his duties are innumerable and unceasing. Obliged to be for ever fighting, and often single-handed, against the material, intellectual, and moral poverty that surrounds him, and which, in spite of all his efforts, seems ever the same, he would lose heart and courage if he were not supported by a sure and well-tried faith. Young Pestalozzi's grandfather was one of those men who devote their whole energy to the office they have chosen. His faith, which was simple and sincere, living and active, naturally made a strong impression on his grandchild, who used to say afterwards:

"The best way for a child to learn to fear God is to see and hear a real Christian."

At the same time, this life of active charity and sacrifice, corresponding with the boy's deeper feelings, and appealing strongly to his emotional nature, soon became his ideal and his ambition; and he made up his mind to be a pastor like his grandfather. It was therefore decided that he should study theology.

CHAPTER II.

PESTALOZZI THE STUDENT.

Splendour of the University of Zurich in the middle of the eighteenth century; the spirit which reigned there, and its influence on Pestalozzi; he abandons theology for law in order to reform abuses; he is condemned as a revolutionary; he abandons law, and burns his manuscripts. All that remains of his first writings: "Agis." Carried away by the agricultural utopias of the time, he becomes an agriculturist in order to help the people.

In the middle of the last century, higher education in the town of Zurich had made remarkable progress, and was distinguished by a loftiness and originality which deserve to be better known. The philosophy of Wolff, who preached a return to Nature in everything, had stirred in the students a triple enthusiasm: for simple manners, for the revival of German literature, and for political liberty. It was this enthusiasm which impelled Pestalozzi to the enterprises of his youth, those first unfortunate attempts which only delayed the moment when he was to find his real vocation and become the reformer of education.

At that time, theology, medicine, and law were studied in Zurich in the *Collegium humanitatis*, which was open to students of fifteen years of age, and which three distinguished professors had brought into great repute. These men were Zimmerman, Professor of Theology (1736); Breitinger, Professor of Greek and Hebrew (1745); and Bodmer, Professor of History and Politics (1730). They had succeeded in arousing a burning zeal amongst the students, and in imparting to their work a particular tendency, some explanation of which will be necessary to the proper understanding of this history.

Zimmerman was firmly and sincerely religious, without being intolerant; he was quick, open, and calm, a friend of mankind and a friend of truth. He had changed the old system of formality and severity at the Academy by making the relations between master and pupil kindly and pleasant. When Pestalozzi began his higher studies, however, Zimmerman had already been called to another post; but the influence of his past activity continued to make itself felt during the professorship of his successor.

Breitinger used to speak of Greek literature as being a source of wisdom for all other nations. He taught it in this spirit with remarkable power, and succeeded in making his pupils understand and appreciate it, and find not only keen pleasure in it, but valuable instruction. He loved his pupils as his own children, and looked after them individually with such care that they all loved and respected him as a father.

Bodmer was a Professor at Zurich for nearly fifty years, and it is to him particularly that the town owes the many talented men it has produced. His teaching was more especially concerned with the history and institutions of Switzerland, and its effect was to inspire his hearers with a passionate love for justice and liberty. His view was that the manners and social organization of the day were degenerating, and that a struggle must be made to bring back the old virtues. He taught that desires must be limited, and praised the simple joys of domestic life. We can form some opinion of his teaching from the following passage of his *Dialogues of the Dead*:

> "What did you do on earth?—I sought for happiness. Did you find it?—Alas! much too late. Where did you seek it?—In Persia, in India, in Japan, at the ends of the earth. Where did you find it?—It had been in my own village, in my father's house, whilst I had been seeking it thousands of miles away; and when at last, after many dangers, I returned home, I found it there. My father, who had taken no step to find it, carried it in his heart. I just caught a glimpse of it and died."

But Bodmer was not content with teaching history and politics; he introduced his pupils to the masterpieces of modern literature, especially English. To him and Breitinger, Zurich owes the honour of having been, with Leipsic, the starting-point of the movement which has given Germany her admirable modern literature.

Soon after Klopstock had published his *Messiah*, he came to Zurich to stay with Bodmer, who had been one of the first to appreciate the value of his work. He was soon followed by Wieland and Kleist, so that gradually the little Swiss town became quite a centre of literary activity. Kleist wrote to Gleim:

> "Zurich is really one of the finest places in the world, not only on account of its magnificent position, but on account of the men to be found there. Whereas in great Berlin there are not more than three or four men of taste and genius, in little Zurich there are twenty or thirty."

So great was the influence of these professors on their pupils, that the latter came to despise wealth, luxury, and material comfort, and cared for nothing but the pleasures of the mind and soul, and the unceasing pursuit of justice and truth. For a long time Pestalozzi and his friends slept on the bare ground, with no other covering but their clothes, and ate nothing but bread and vegetables.

Such was the spirit which reigned in the University of Zurich about 1760, seven or eight years after Klopstock's visit to his friend Bodmer. It was at this time that young Pestalozzi arrived there. His previous studies in a humble school had not prepared him in any way for the University, but this lofty teaching suited his character, and, acting powerfully on his impressionable nature, furnished his faculties with the stimulus and food they lacked. As a schoolboy, he had not shown much power, but now he rapidly became a distinguished scholar. He was still little more than a boy, when the University honoured him by printing a translation he had made of a speech of Demosthenes.

He afterwards referred to his academical studies in these words:

> "The spirit of the public teaching in my native town, though eminently scientific, was calculated to make us lose sight of the realities of life, and lead us into the land of dreams. All the best of us, Lavater not excepted, were mere dreamers. We had decided to live for nothing but indepen-

dence, well-doing, sacrifice, and love of country, but we were without the practical knowledge necessary for reaching these ends. We were taught to despise the external advantages of wealth, honour, and consideration, and to believe that by economy and moderation, it is possible to do without most of the things considered essential by ordinary middle-class people. We were beguiled by a dream, to wit, the possibility of enjoying independence and domestic happiness without having either the power or the means of acquiring that position which alone can give them. These dreams had all the more power over us because it was to our best feelings that they appealed when they incited us to make a stand against the decay of the old Swiss spirit, that spirit of simplicity, dignity, and fidelity, which had once been the glory of our country, but which at that time was already slowly disappearing from amongst us."

No man was ever a greater victim than Pestalozzi himself of this illusion which he calls a dream, this ideal which he pursued with so much self-forgetfulness; and yet is it not just because he reached so high a point in this high path, that he made the discoveries which have rendered his memory immortal?

We have seen that young Pestalozzi wanted to be a pastor, like his grandfather. He accordingly studied theology, but after having brought his studies to a successful close, he discovered that he could not preach. It is even said that in the middle of his trial-sermon an uncontrollable fit of laughter seized him and obliged him to stop. So he gave up the ministry to study law. But this change was not entirely the result of his inability to preach, for his thoughts had long been taking another direction, and slowly leading him to another sphere of activity.

Already, as a child at school, Pestalozzi had had a horror of injustice and oppression, and had always been the champion of those who were wronged. One day he had taken to task a worthless under-master who had been guilty of some injustice, and, to the amazement of the whole class, his energy had carried the day. Later, in an anonymous letter addressed to the educational authorities, he had disclosed the vices which were secretly undermining a public educational institution; this letter had excited some very angry feeling, and on its authorship being discovered, Pestalozzi, although an inquiry had proved the truth of his statements, had been threatened with severe punishment, and had been obliged to escape to Höngg to his grandfather.

There he had heard the peasants complain how the burgesses of Zurich lorded it over them, monopolized the trade in the town, and refused to sell them the right of citizenship. Often, too, he had stayed with his uncle Hotz at Richterswyl, the inhabitants of which village made the same complaints as those of Höngg. The doctor used to speak with great bitterness of the "gracious lords of Zurich," and one day, when his nephew was boasting of the liberty of the Swiss peasants, he replied sharply, "Don't talk so much about their liberty; they are no more free here than in Livonia."

The impressions thus made on young Pestalozzi by his visits to the country were all the keener and deeper for being associated with the memory of happy days spent amongst a class of people who always made him welcome, and in a place where he was able to enjoy a freer and more active life than he had ever enjoyed in Zurich.

At that time, the village pastors of the canton were for ever repeating the old adage about evil coming from the town. Young Henry felt this too. "When I am big," he used to say, "I shall support the peasants; they ought to have the same rights as the townspeople."

At the university, too, where Bodmer's teaching had directed his attention to the political state of his country, he was one of the most ardent amongst those young men who were anxious to reform everything in Zurich, and whose actions in the pursuit of liberty and justice occasionally caused their parents so much embarrassment, anxiety, and trouble.

In the middle of the last century, the country districts in most of the Swiss cantons were dominated by the towns, which were themselves governed by a certain number of privileged families, whose government was generally mild and kind, though the people had no right to take part in it. In Zurich, some thirteen trade-guilds monopolized all the industry and commerce of the place.

The desire for greater liberty showed itself first amongst the students, and was caused to a very great extent by the example of the people of Geneva, who had for a long time been complaining of the domination of the patrician families, who had gradually robbed the people of all their ancient rights. In 1738, France and the cantons of Berne and Zurich, appealed to by the Genevan Government, had induced the people and the magistrates to accept their mediation, and had obtained for the former the right of remonstrance and veto in all measures which affected the constitution. And so, in 1762, when the Government, following in the steps of the Paris Parliament, condemned the author of *Emile* and *The Social Contract*, the people espoused Rousseau's side very warmly, and addressed a remonstrance to the magistrates, asking that the decree should be repealed as being in every way unjust and ill-advised. But the petitioners were civilly dismissed, and their petition disregarded.

These doings made a great stir in Zurich, and caused great excitement amongst the patriotic students, who expressed their entire sympathy with the people of Geneva and for a time almost worshipped Rousseau, in whose writings they found so many eloquent passages in praise of Nature, simple manners and country life, that were entirely in harmony with their own views.

These young Liberals, several of whom afterwards became famous, now undertook a crusade against the abuses and injustices of the time. During the years 1763, 1764, and 1765 they formally complained of three high functionaries; and an inquiry having proved the truth of the facts they alleged, the guilty persons were dismissed. The magistrates, however, alarmed at the spirit which was animating these young men, blamed their action, and punished them with one or two days' confinement in the Town Hall.

In the spring of 1765, Bodmer had founded a Helvetian Society, which used to meet every week to hear and discuss essays by its members on questions of history, education, politics, or ethics, and which contributed in no small degree to spread liberal ideas amongst the students.

Of this society Pestalozzi was one of the most enthusiastic members.

The same year, the students started a weekly local paper called the *Memorial*. As its aim was purely moral, politics were not touched on; indeed, at that time, the discussion of politics in a public paper was forbidden. The editors were Lavater and Füssli; but Pestalozzi was one of the chief contributors, and it is interesting to see the sort of thoughts that occupied him at the age of nineteen. The following are a few extracts from his articles:—

"I am told nearly every day that a young man who occupies such a very unimportant position in his country as I do, should attempt neither to criticise nor to make things better; that both are beyond his province. I may, however, be allowed to express my wishes; this at least nobody can either forbid or find fault with. I propose, then, to formulate my wishes and print them for everybody to read. As for those who may make fun of me, I can only hope that they will soon learn to know better."

"I would have no great mind too indolent, or too proud of its own greatness to labour for the public good with courage and perseverance; I would have no one despise the very humblest of his fellow-creatures when they are honest and industrious."

"I would have parents exercise more care in choosing companions for their children. For who does not know what a powerful influence good or bad companionship has on young souls?"

"I would have people as eager to speak of a man's progress and good qualities as they are to tell his faults. Do we not owe this justice to our neighbour who is trying to be better?"

"I would that one of our doctors would make an abstract of Tissot's excellent book, and that by the self-denial of a few rich people this abstract might be sold to every peasant for a half or third of its price."

This wish suggests another:

"I would that some one would draw up in a simple manner a few principles of education intelligible to everybody; that some generous people would then share the expense of printing, so that the pamphlet might be given to the public for nothing, or next to nothing. I would then have clergymen distribute it to all fathers and mothers, so that they might bring up their children in a rational and Christian manner. But perhaps this is asking too much at a time."

"I would have all who work with their hands, all whose lives are industrious, frugal, and independent, looked upon as the pillars of our liberty, and held more in honour amongst us."

"I would that all my fellow-citizens could study the history of Switzerland and the laws of the canton, and that the new Helvetian Society would furnish them with the means."

Meanwhile the irritation caused at Geneva by the condemnation of Rousseau had resulted in differences between the magistrates and the people, which were becoming more and more pronounced and threatening, and in 1766, the government again asked for the mediation of Zurich, Berne, and France, "to save the country." The deputies from these three States met at Geneva in March, and proposed an arrangement which suited the magistrates, but did not satisfy the people, who rejected it by a great majority on the 15th of December.

A rumour having reached Zurich that troops were to be sent to Geneva to force the people to accept the proposal made by the deputies, the town was thrown into a great state of excitement, and nothing else was talked about, nearly everybody approving of the step. The young patriots however were violently opposed to it, and debated whether it would not be possible to put the whole matter before the people of Zurich in such a way that they would refuse to become an instrument of injustice.

A young theologian, C. H. Muller, made the attempt, by drawing up a short statement in the form of a dialogue between peasants. The conclusions which he put into the mouth of one of the interlocutors were as follows:

"The townspeople of Geneva have a right to make what laws they please; for the liberty of a people consists in its being able to organize its government as it likes. Besides, it was formally stipulated that the people should be free to adopt or reject the various constitutional measures, and now that they have rejected this mediation by a great majority, are we to go and force them to accept it? Such a proceeding would be treasonable, shameful, infamous, and a government that insisted on it would no longer deserve our confidence. Come what may, then, I for one shall not go."

Muller, saying the paper had been given him by some one, read it privately to a few friends, and then locked it up in his desk. But he afterwards allowed a student named Wolff to take a copy, and Wolff distributed it amongst the other students.

It was not till the 24th of January, 1767, that the magistrates heard of it. Their patience was now exhausted, and they were furious; they even suspected a conspiracy, and appointed a special commission to discover the author of the pamphlet and have him arrested.

This was on a Saturday. That same evening, Pestalozzi, on the advice of Lavater and other friends, went to Muller to urge him to confess to the magistrates that he had written the pamphlet. Muller promised to do so; but on going to his house the next day, Pestalozzi found that he had fled in the night. Pestalozzi thereupon hastened to consult his friends Lavater, Füssli, and Vogel, and it was agreed that if Muller had really run away, they should tell the magistrates all they knew of the matter. But others had been before them, and Muller had been already denounced by several citizens. Their readiness to do this is explained by the fact that all the townspeople were bound by an oath to tell the authorities everything which affected the State. But in this matter, most of them acted without regret, and were certainly not actuated by a sense of duty merely, for nearly everybody was just as indignant as the magistrates themselves. The latter indeed received many addresses, of which the following may be given as a specimen:

"The faithful citizens, in assuring their gracious lords of their devotion, humbly beg to make the following request:

"Do not let your zeal in this matter grow cool, lest the welfare of the State as well as your own peace and safety be imperilled; continue rather earnestly and boldly to stifle at their very birth the serpents who are seeking to poison the State."

All the young patriots who were thought to be concerned in the conspiracy were examined, and some of them were confined in the Town Hall. The result of the inquiries showed that the pamphlet had been written without any malicious intention, and that those who had distributed it had done so without the author's knowledge, believing it to be quite harmless.

But nothing could soothe the anger and fright of the "gracious lords and their faithful subjects." They were particularly indignant with Pestalozzi, and confined him several times, believing that it was he who had suggested flight to Muller.

The burgomaster had, however, received a letter from the fugitive, in which he acknowledged that he was the author of the dialogue, explained how it came to be distributed without his consent, and asked pardon for this boyish fault, which he had committed without any malicious intention.

But the magistrates were too angry to forgive, and the inquiry was conducted as if it had been a question of saving the country from some great danger.

"The faithful people" did not conceal their indignation either, for in the streets and on the market places the students were many times threatened with death.

On Sunday, the 1st of February, 1767, a proclamation by the Government was read in the whole canton, apprising the astonished peasants of the existence of an abominable pamphlet, which endangered the safety of the State, and ordering that its author, Charles Muller, should be arrested and handed over to justice by any one who should meet him.

The sentence, pronounced on the 11th of February, declares Muller unworthy of the holy ministry, and banishes him for ever from Swiss territory,[1] orders the copies of his pamphlet to be publicly burned, condemns a dozen students, Pestalozzi amongst them, to bear the expenses of their confinement, warns them that if they continue to speak against the Government they will lose their right of citizenship, and forbids the publication of the *Memorial*. A commission was also appointed to control the students and to prevent them from forming associations.

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[1] Muller, afterwards a professor in Berlin, is famous for having been the first to introduce the *Nibelungen* to the literary world.

In the eyes of his fellow-citizens Pestalozzi was no longer anything but a dangerous revolutionary. Nor did the effects of the sentence cease to make themselves felt for a long time; indeed the undertakings even of his middle age suffered from it. As all chance of a public appointment was now gone, he had to relinquish his hope of being able to improve the condition of the people by legislation.

He cared little for the harshness of the rich, but he was deeply hurt by the part taken in the matter by those whom he had meant to serve.

The real cause of the material poverty of the people, he reasoned, is their intellectual and moral degradation. In an election, after having sworn to support the best citizen, they always find some good reason for electing the worst. But as only those can be really helped who are in a position to help themselves, the first step towards an improvement in the condition of the people will be to see that they are properly educated.

On abandoning his legal studies, Pestalozzi threw his manuscripts into the fire, and thus all the numerous writings of his early youth were lost, except one which had been printed in a Review published at Lindau and Leipsic, called *An Account of some of the Most Remarkable Writings of Our Times* (1766, No. 12, pp. 346–372). His article is entitled *Agis*, and bears the date 1765, with these words:—

> "This article was written by a young man of great promise, not yet twenty years old, and was not originally intended for publication."

This Review is not to be had now, but *Agis* has just been included in the complete edition of Pestalozzi's works, published at Brandenburg by L. W. Seyffarth. It is the earliest of Pestalozzi's productions that we possess, and is far too remarkable to be dismissed without further mention.

It will be remembered that our author, when still a student and a very poor Greek scholar, shocked by the literary defects in a translation of Demosthenes published by his professor of Greek, had himself translated a part of the third speech to the Athenian people, and in such a way as to excite universal admiration. This translation serves as a preface to the history of Agis, and is intended to show how in the times which preceded the Macedonian invasion, the Greeks had forsaken the old simplicity of life and the old virtues that had so long contributed to their strength and happiness. The picture of this decadence has such a striking resemblance to the state of Switzerland in the last century, that the translator, in a footnote, and with a touch of irony, reminds those readers who might fancy they had detected allusions to the present time that the Athenians only are in question, and that it is Demosthenes who is speaking.

Then follows the history of Agis, that king of Sparta, who at a time when the laws of Lycurgus had fallen into neglect, had undertaken to revive them. Although brought up in luxury and idleness, he had resisted their seductions, and now lived with severe simplicity, trying to make the rich follow his example, and endeavouring to bring about a new division of land for the purpose of restoring the old conditions of equality. The attempt, however, failed, and Agis paid for it with his life.

From beginning to end of the sketch Pestalozzi eloquently preaches the cause of the reform undertaken by Agis, and one cannot help thinking that he sought in that way to prepare a new era for his country, in which the utopian schemes that then filled the thoughts of all the most generous-minded students in Zurich might be realized. But by burning all he had written, Pestalozzi now seemed to be acknowledging that he had been moving in the wrong direction, and to be condemning the system by which he had been led away.

According to several of his biographers, it was at this period of his life that he said: "I will be a schoolmaster." But this is a mistake; for he did not find his true vocation till later, when, having become a father, he gave all his best thought and care to the education of his child.

On leaving the law Pestalozzi turned to agriculture.

To follow this new direction of his thought, and to understand how it was that he saw in this fresh sphere of activity yet another way of raising the people, we must first know something of the many utopian schemes for the improvement of agriculture which at that time found acceptance with the younger generation in Zurich.

The cultivation of the soil was making marked progress in different countries, and was held in great honour by moralists and philosophers. Stimulated by Bodmer's teaching and Rousseau's writings, the young men of Zurich saw in the improvement of this important art the salvation of the poor and a remedy for every evil. Schulthess, of Zurich, who had seen Rousseau in Geneva, used to relate that the philosopher had said to him: "Agriculture is the best and happiest of all occupations. In countries which are not free, men are compelled to become mechanics, but in free countries it is better to be an agriculturist."

In the autumn of 1765, Bodmer wrote as follows to Sulzer at Winterthur:

"The love of the country is very strong in Füssli, and still stronger in his friend Meiss, the son of the colonel, who is anxious to be a thoroughly capable farmer, and already knows more than the peasants. It is surprising how many of our best students have taken a fancy to farm-work; they have already learned to mow, and to bear heat and rain like the peasants. I am only afraid that they have begun too late. Their young friend Van Hausen began earlier, and his skill in field-work has been much admired."

To this Sulzer replied:

"My wish for Winterthur, as well as for Zurich, would be that only a small number of the leading magistrates, merchants and manufacturers should remain in the town, and that the rest of the citizens should settle in the country on small holdings, where they would live by their work on the land and lead a life, not indeed like that of our peasants, but still simple and unpretending. I think those parents who are so perplexed to know what to do with their sons, would do well to buy for each of them a small quantity of land in the country, and let them live by cultivating it. I am sorry not to have set the example myself when I was able; I think I may safely say that in a few years I should have been in a very good position." [1]

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[1] Were not these wild schemes suggested by a vague feeling of danger?

Such were the ideas that were current amongst the students of Zurich when Pestalozzi gave up the study of law and turned his attention to agriculture. His hope was that by setting an example of an improved method to the Swiss peasants, he would enable them not only to live in comfort, but provide for their children that intellectual and moral training which is so necessary for the citizens of a republic.

Already in the manufacturing districts, the peasants, tempted by the prospect of larger wages, were flocking to the towns and joining that large class of workers who have no direct interest in the land of the country, who have nothing to fall back upon when work is slack, and who from their rapid increase have been called the proletariat.

CHAPTER III.

PESTALOZZI THE AGRICULTURIST.

Engaged to Anna Schulthess; after studying agriculture with Tschiffeli, he buys land near Birr; during the building of his house at Birr he lives at Muligen; his marriage; birth of his son; he settles in his new house: Neuhof. Failure of his enterprise.

At the time that Pestalozzi turned his attention to agriculture, he was engaged to be married; and it is in his correspondence with his future wife that we find the most valuable information as to the thoughts and plans that now occupied him. The reader will not have forgotten the young Anna Schulthess, who gave such good advice to Pestalozzi, when, as a child, he wanted to buy sweetmeats in the shop adjoining his mother's house. The girl had great natural intelligence, and had received an unusually good education.

When her father, J. J. Schulthess, started in business at the sign of *The Plough*, he had already travelled much and observed much, and had everywhere sought the society of educated people. In spite of his commercial pursuits, his devotion to art and literature remained unchanged, and his house became one of the favourite resorts of men of taste and learning. The poet Klopstock himself was his guest during his visit to Zurich.

Though Anna was only a child, all this made a lasting impression on her, for at a very early age she had understood and enjoyed both the intellectual and emotional pleasure of the study of literature and the fine arts. Her diary, from which we shall often have occasion to quote, and which, like her father, she kept all her life, is a proof of the nobleness of her nature. She was both musician and poet, and even in her old age retained her freshness of imagination. Some verses that she wrote when quite an old woman in imitation of Wordsworth's "We are seven" have been preserved.

Among the men of taste and education who frequented

Schulthess's house, there was an intimate friend of Pestalozzi's called Bluntschly, a young man of remarkable intelligence and high character. Only four years older than Pestalozzi, he was in the last stage of consumption, and knew, as everybody else knew, that he must soon die. This circumstance lent a strange seriousness and sadness to the literary friendship which had sprung up between him and the young Anna. She afterwards spoke of him as follows:

"Before I can forget him I must forget myself; I can indeed never forget the charm and energy of his conversation; I did nothing without consulting him; he was gay, gentle and kind. We were in the habit of talking over the best ways of helping the poor. . . . One day I asked his opinion of some ribbons I had to choose from. 'They are beautiful,' he said, 'but so long as your poor neighbour has more need of a few shillings than you of those ribbons ——' And at once I decided to do without the ribbons and everything that was not really necessary."

Pestalozzi and Bluntschly had the same ideas and feelings and the same projects. But Bluntschly had a better knowledge of men and things; he was more prudent, his mind was more matured, and he saw how little his friend was suited for practical life. When he felt his end drawing near, he called Pestalozzi to him and said:

"I am going and you will be left alone. Avoid any career in which you might become the victim of your own goodness and trust, and choose some quiet life in which you will run no risk. Above all, do not take part in any important undertaking without having at your side a man who, by his cool judgment, knowledge of men and things, and unshakable fidelity, may be able to protect you from the dangers to which you will be exposed."

Bluntschly died on the 24th of May, 1767, leaving Pestalozzi and Anna in deep grief. The friend they had just lost had already taught these two young people to appreciate each other, and now their common grief brought them nearer. A warm-hearted eulogy of Bluntschly that Pestalozzi wrote and offered to Anna touched her deeply and filled her with gratitude. It was by meeting every day and comparing sorrowful memories, that they at last came to love each other, so that it was in a certain sense to Bluntschly that Pestalozzi owed the admirable and devoted wife who was his support for forty-six years.

Pestalozzi was small and ugly. His health, never good, had been broken by work and study, and the doctors had advised him to take a long rest in the country. He was entirely careless of his appearance and was, indeed, incapable of dressing properly; he was clumsy and awkward in everything he did, and in his absent-mindedness often forgot part of his dress. He was, in short, without any of those qualities which are supposed to inspire a woman with liking for a man. But Anna saw deeper. "Such nobleness," she said, "such elevation of character, reach my very soul." Their hearts were one then, and they exchanged vows.

As soon as they were formally affianced, they began a correspondence, and from the end of the summer of 1767 to the autumn of 1769, when they were married, exchanged frequent letters. Of these letters nearly three hundred of Pestalozzi's and two hundred of Anna's have been preserved.

The celebrated letter that has been quoted in so many biographies is missing from this collection, but the young girl's answer is there, and this answer seems to prove that the letter as quoted does not exactly agree with the original. At any rate, it was not in this letter that he asked her to marry him.

The most striking and authentic part of this letter, which was published for the first time in 1828, in a German newspaper, runs as follows:

"I will not speak to you of my carelessness in dress and manner; it is indeed great, and is but too well known. I am reproached with having too many subjects of distraction. I have friends everywhere, it is true, and subjects which interest me, but I have only given attention to them in the hope of making myself useful. I also know and appreciate the sweets of solitude, the peace of the domestic fireside; it will be my happiness to enjoy it more in the future. I no longer want a large circle of friends, but I do not regret the years I have given to social intercourse. I have learned to know my countrymen, and this knowledge will be useful to me by and by. As my health is not very good, I think it more than probable you will survive me, though my doctor assures me there is at present no cause for anxiety; but I do not think my life will pass without important and dangerous undertakings."

In one of Anna's letters we read:

"You might perhaps say that Nature had done little for you, if she had not given you those large dark eyes, which tell of all the goodness of your heart and breadth of your mind."

There was indeed an inexpressible tenderness in Pestalozzi's look, which was sometimes flashing with intelligence and energy, sometimes meditative almost to sadness.

The following letter shows that Anna approved of Pestalozzi's plans for a country life, and also that he was anxious to make this life a basis for some scheme of patriotic philanthropy.

"I am glad to find that you too think life in a town unsuited to the sort of education we think best. My cottage must certainly be far from such a centre of vice and misery. I shall be able to do more for my country in a solitary hut than in the tumult of the city. When I am in the country and see that one of my neighbours who is in want has a child of great promise, I shall take this child by the hand and make a good citizen of him; he will work, he will have enough to eat, and will be happy. And should this young man do a noble action and incur the scorn of those who fear men only, he will find food in my house as long as I have any. I shall take pleasure in drinking nothing but water to give him the milk I prefer, that he may see how much I esteem the nobleness of his character. And then, my beloved, you will be content to see me drinking water only. Is it not true that to help our neighbours we are willing to limit our needs so far as is reasonably possible? How much more I could say about this happy outlook, the joy of having children, the unexpected visits of friends! But I must stop and will only say one thing more: circumstances may some day take me from our fireside; I shall never fail in what a loyal citizen owes to his country. But I know, my beloved, that the fulfilment of any duty is a delight to you."

Anna's parents did not approve of this union; her mother particularly dreaded the consequences that the enterprising and eager nature of a young man with so little prudence and knowledge of the world might have for her daughter's happiness.

Much as he loved Anna, however, our young reformer would not give up his agricultural projects. Furnished with a letter of introduction from his friend Lavater, he went to Tschiffeli, at Kirchberg, near Berne, who at that time had made a great reputation by his manner of cultivating his land and by the tempting innovations he had introduced, one of the most important of which was madder-growing.

Almost immediately after his arrival, Pestalozzi wrote to Anna thus:

"I am at last settled, and am happier than I ever expected to be. It is the happiest household you can imagine. Tschiffeli, the great agriculturist, is the kindest of fathers. I shall learn farming in all its branches and in all its latest developments. I shall certainly become independent of the whole world."

And a little later:

"Tschiffeli makes up for the loss of all my friends. This profession that I have chosen will enable me to make our home very comfortable, for Tschiffeli, who really makes a great deal of money by his farming, is teaching me his whole system most thoroughly, so that I feel sure of being able to do exactly as he is doing."

Anna Schulthess had four brothers younger than herself; the second, Gaspard, had been intimate with Pestalozzi, and had always known and approved of his love for his sister. Just at this time he was appointed to a pastor's post at Neuchâtel, whither Anna went with him to see him comfortably established in his new home. They passed by Kirchberg to see Pestalozzi, who was of course happy to see Anna again and accompanied them to Neuchâtel. In the course of this journey, the brother and sister introduced their friend to several of their acquaintances, doing their best to make them appreciate his worth; but so unfavourable was the first impression produced by Pestalozzi's appearance, and by the strangeness of his manners, that their trouble was thrown away.

Pestalozzi spent a whole year at Kirchberg, where he was very happy. He took part in all the work of the farm, and was proud of showing his visitors his horny hands and sunbrowned face. His zeal at that time for the improvement of agriculture, was one of those youthful enthusiasms that are always so fruitful of illusions. If the question of making money entered into his thoughts, it was only because it was necessary for him to reassure Anna's parents about his future position.

He had formed plans for a method of cultivation which he expected would be very profitable. Indeed, so confident was he of success that no shadow of doubt ever crossed his mind. He gives Anna all the details of these plans in a letter which is too long to be given in full:

"I shall cultivate nothing but madder and vegetables. Tschiffeli has fifteen acres down in madder and gets wonderful crops. The expenses of growing it will not be higher near Zurich than here, and the soil is much more favourable.

"As madder takes sixteen months to ripen, I shall begin by planting fifteen acres of poor land, which I shall endeavour to improve the first year. If I buy twenty acres of waste land, my third crop of madder ought to repay the purchase money; and then sixteen months later I shall have another crop, and so on. But as I shall have to wait for the madder, I must grow something else for a living in the meantime.

"The best way of getting anything out of the land the first year is to grow vegetables. The method of growing vegetables has undergone improvements of which people in Zurich know nothing, but which I have had explained to me by a very clever gardener here. I have seeds of much better quality than those to be had in our markets, and I have learned how to keep vegetables through the winter so as to be able to sell them in the spring when they are worth twice the money. I shall make good use, too, of the manure that is at present wasted in Zurich, and in this way I shall soon fertilize the very worst land in the district."

After speaking of growing cabbages, cauliflower, broccoli, asparagus, artichokes, etc., and calculating how many plants will go to the acre, and what yield he will have for the market, Pestalozzi continues:

> "I shall limit myself to these two things; I shall have neither meadows, fields, vines nor cattle, nothing but madder and vegetables.
>
> "My one thought, my one occupation all day long, is to fit myself for this work I have chosen. Now you know what my plans are. In forming them I have been helped by the eminent agriculturist with whom I am living. Do you not think, beloved, I am right to say that by putting all my strength, all my intelligence and zeal, into this work, I shall be quite able to supply the modest wants of a family living in the country, and living principally on the produce of its own land. But my master and I go farther; we think that in this way I shall not only be able to provide what is absolutely necessary for my family, but be certain of making them a very comfortable home.
>
> "Examine what I have said with the greatest care, beloved, to see whether it is clear and reasonable. In all my plans I have been guided, as you know, by the experience of the great agriculturist Tschiffeli. How happy I shall be if they please you, and satisfy your revered parents!"

Anna was both trustful and hopeful, but her parents' doubts and fears were as strong as ever.

Early in the autumn of 1768, Pestalozzi, full of courage and confidence, came back to Zurich, to find land suitable for his purpose. His choice fell on Letten, in the western part of the plain called Birrfeld, in Aargau. He there purchased, for twenty-three pounds, some fifteen acres of land at the foot of the hill on which Braunegg Castle stands, and between this hill and the village of Birr. This small quantity of land he gradually increased by buying up the neighbouring fields from their peasant owners, till he found himself the master of about a hundred acres; and a Zurich banker having joined in the undertaking and advanced him fifteen hundred pounds, he was at last in a position to put his projects into execution.

As there was no house on the land, he settled temporarily at Muligen, a small village on the left bank of the Reuss, about two miles to the west of Letten. The house he occupied was an old mansion, said to have been the ancestral home of some noble family of the district; it now belonged, however, to Mr. Froehlich, of Brugg, a friend of Pestalozzi's, who let him house, barns, and garden, for an almost nominal sum.

His good mother, who divided her attentions between her son and her father-in-law, helped him to get his house in order. The old pastor was still living at Höngg, but had become very infirm. Pestalozzi had once said, speaking of his mother: "If you could only see what she does at Höngg, how she denies herself, and what she bears for our sakes . . ." Anna also contributed, though in secret, towards the wants of the new household.

The faithful Babeli had remained in Zurich, and Anna had written about her to Pestalozzi as follows:

"I cannot look upon our good Babeli as a servant, but as a friend. Our first care must be to ensure her a peaceful old age. I chatted with her for an hour, and we paid a visit together to grandpapa. It is astonishing how careful and sensible she is in everything."

Pestalozzi describes his new establishment thus:

"The place I am living in has many charms. My rooms, newly plastered and whitewashed, are pleasant, and will do well enough for the present. The house stands by itself at some little distance from the road, and is very quiet. Our three rooms get the sun at noon and at evening, and the sweetest music from the birds every morning. The water is so pure that there is said to be none like it within thirty miles, and the air is the finest in the world. We are at the foot of a low hill, from the top of which you can see across eighteen miles of plain. The Reuss, very useful for the transport of madder, flows quite near the village. There is a pleasant garden adjoining the house, and even our yard is shaded by fine trees. . . . So much for comfort. What is more important is the advantage that such a position will be to my undertaking; the low price of land, for instance, its suitability for madder-growing, and the ease with which it may be broken up into fields. The whole district is poor, so that labour will be cheap. Indeed, in every respect, I shall have the advantage of

Tschiffeli. My neighbours now seem very friendly, so that my fears of the first few days on this score have entirely disappeared. If they did not receive me very well at first, it was not that they felt any ill-will against me, but that they were angry with some friends who had stupidly exerted their authority in my favour. Two days later they were all glad that I had come here, and I felt it my duty to reward their friendliness with something to drink."

The house that Pestalozzi lived in at Muligen has undergone few alterations. It is a one-storied house, facing west, the hamlet lying a little below among the trees. The front has six windows, with a door in the middle. The wall which enclosed the yard is gone, but the trees which shaded it are still flourishing. The old lattice windows have been replaced by large panes, and the iron bars which protected them have been removed. The old green earthenware stoves are still there. The barn is close to the house on the north side, and on the east is the garden. Muligen is close to the river Reuss, which flows swiftly between high banks, and can only be crossed by boat, as there is no bridge near. The village of Birmensdorf, so celebrated for its mineral waters, is not far off on the other side of the river, and can be seen from the hamlet.

Whilst he was alone at Muligen, Pestalozzi once had the pleasure of seeing Anna, on the occasion of a visit she paid to a friend in the neighbouring town of Brugg.

But, on the whole, he had no lack of pleasant society, for he was well received by many of the inhabitants of the district, and had besides many visitors. In spite of all this, however, he soon began to suffer from his isolation, so that Anna had to cheer him and exhort him "not to be always so sad." To this his only answer was to beg that their marriage should be no longer delayed. Anna's parents, however, still withheld their consent, and it was as much as Pestalozzi's friends, Lavater, Füssli, Hotz, and others could do to make them promise that they would not forcibly restrain their daughter from doing as she liked.

With a sad heart, then, but with perfect confidence in Pestalozzi, Anna left her father's house. Her mother's words to her on leaving were: "You will have to be satisfied with bread and water." Her father's diary shows that she had no dowry beyond her personal effects and her piano. The marriage took place in the presence of a few friends on the 30th of September, 1769, in the church at Gebistorf, Pestalozzi being twenty-three years old and Anna thirty.

Immediately after her marriage, Anna commenced a diary, which she kept most regularly, and in which her husband himself often wrote. This diary will henceforth be one of our most valuable sources of information.[1]

Notwithstanding what we have said, Anna's parents were soon reconciled to their daughter's marriage. Only ten weeks afterwards, we find both Anna and Pestalozzi staying at *The Plough* on a visit, which was to be for three days only, but which lasted for three happy weeks. The young couple helped to make the New Year's bonbons, and wrote many a joke on the subject in their diary. They also visited all their relations and friends, chief amongst whom was Pestalozzi's good mother. They left Zurich on the 28th of December, taking with them the friendship and blessings "of both families." That day they "dined twice," and then "taking boat," arrived, "thanks to the Almighty," safely at Muligen.

The very next day Pestalozzi was back on his land, busy with plans for the future, and eager to begin the building of a dwelling-house and barn. Meanwhile he had sown his fields with sainfoin.

On St. Sylvester's Day they baked a small batch of bread for the poor, and were well rewarded for their pains by the joy of the recipients. On the 1st of January they went to church at Birmensdorf.

So happy were they in their love for each other, that for the greater part of that year everything seemed to prosper, and success seemed certain. Anna's parents often came to see them, sometimes bringing money to support the new venture, and Pestalozzi and she paid many visits to their friends in the neighbourhood.

At the same time Pestalozzi worked exceedingly hard with both head and hands, exposing himself to all weathers, and walking the three or four miles that separated his home from his land at all hours, and often many times in the day.

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[1] In 1874 this diary was still in the possession of a lady in Zurich, who was good enough to lend it to Mr. Morf, for his important book on Pestalozzi.

Meanwhile he was pleased to see his sainfoin growing, and took keen delight in every addition to his buildings, which were to be in the Italian style, and which he hurried on with impatient eagerness. Unfortunately, however, he had chosen for his steward and foreman a most unsuitable man, called Merki, in whom nobody in the neighbourhood had any confidence, and who gravely compromised his master's interests. Indeed unpleasant rumours had already reached banker Schulthess' ears, and filled him with uneasiness as to the fate of his money.

Some extracts from the diary will give a clearer idea of the state of affairs in the spring of 1770:

"5*th March* (Anna).—I have been to see the land with my husband and my brother the doctor. For the first time I have heard an adverse judgment on my dear one's undertakings. The pastor of Birr doubts our success. This troubled me somewhat, but has not made me very uneasy."

"25*th April*.—Arrival of Schulthess, the banker, with his two sons. This visit has kept me employed all day. It would have terminated pleasantly for us all if a wretched servant had not talked despairingly of my dear husband's projects. I hope the latter will not hear of it."

"3*rd May* (Pestalozzi).—At nine o'clock a letter from Schulthess saying that he considers my undertaking to have failed. My dear wife comforts and encourages me. I rejoice with her at the kindness of her good parents who have to-day sent us another ten pounds."

"10*th May* (Anna).—To-day I have made up my housekeeping accounts. I find our expenses are greater than I expected for such a simple life as ours. For seven months they come to thirty pounds. For eight weeks, however, we were not alone, and have had as many as forty people staying with us, so this large amount is not very surprising. Our guests were all relations or true friends, and not one of them but was very dear to us and very welcome."

"12*th May*.—Meis and Schinz (two friends of Pestalozzi's) arrived to make a careful survey of the land. They came back in the evening, having found things in a better state than they expected. The next morning they went through the accounts with my husband. In the evening we were very sad, for we could not help thinking that Schulthess meant to forsake us. The chief cause of his distrust is that mischievous servant, who put everything before him in the worst light."

"17*th May*.—Letter from Schulthess announcing the dissolution of partnership. We shed tears when we thought that this might lead to our own separation, which would be worse; for by the banker's withdrawal we must inevitably lose credit. I thank God for supporting me at this time, and enabling me to console my dear husband, who was in despair at the thought of having to leave me in poverty now that I am expecting to become a mother."

The husband and wife now went to Zurich, where, with the help of their relations and friends, they succeeded in persuading Schulthess to reconsider his decision. The partnership therefore continued.

The most important event of this year, and the one that brought the greatest joy to the family at Muligen, was the birth of Pestalozzi's son, the only child he ever had.

A few days previously, Anna, thinking she might not live wrote to her parents:

"I should have regret, even in my grave, if I did not leave my dear parents a few lines saying how deeply grateful I have always felt to them, especially since my marriage. My dear parents, it is certain that the happiest days of my life have been passed with my husband, and it is certain that he deserves all your love."

Pestalozzi's mother came and nursed her daughter-in-law at the critical moment. Then Anna's mother arrived, and soon afterwards Pestalozzi's sister also came and stayed with them, devoting all her attention to the baby, who was overwhelmed with small presents from his grandparents and godparents. Anna wrote in her diary:

"We have never all been so happy together as during this gathering; we have shed many tears of joy."

In the spring of 1771, Pestalozzi went and settled with his family in his new house at Letten, called Neuhof, or

New Farm. Only the ground floor was as yet finished, circumstances being against the completion of the rest of the original plan.

The front, which had six windows and four rooms, looked south on to the garden. The house was burned down in 1842; but though the walls and roof have since been restored, the interior has remained empty, and is now used as a storehouse. On the east side of the house runs a road, on the right of which, a few steps south of the house, is the site of the farm-buildings, which have also been destroyed by fire. In front of the farm was a well, and on the other side of the road a manure-heap and a pond. These buildings formed as it were the centre of a large extent of meadows and fields, with a few vines at the foot of the hill, and a belt of trees above.

But the land was not at all fertile, a few days' rain sufficing to lay bare a thin bed of sand, and so Pestalozzi's agriculture did not prosper.

The buildings, too, had absorbed all the funds necessary for working the land, and Pestalozzi's steward, Merki, had been guilty of breaches of trust. Accordingly Schulthess, the banker, with some slight loss, now finally withdrew from the undertaking.

Pestalozzi, reduced to his own slender resources, again found in his wife's devotion the comfort and encouragement he so much needed. She induced her brothers to advance her some of the money to which she would be entitled at her father's death, and with this money she paid some of Pestalozzi's debts. Pestalozzi's mother also sent him what help she could. He, meanwhile, had discovered the existence of marl near Birr, and used it to improve his land; he supplemented his unremunerative farming-operations by the manufacture of cotton-stuffs, and spun and wove the raw material supplied him by his brothers-in-law.

But in spite of all his efforts, things grew worse every day, his debts continued to increase, and at last, in 1775, he himself was obliged to recognise that his undertaking had failed.

"The dream of my life," he says, "the hope of making my house the centre of a wide sphere of benevolent activity, was gone."

This failure is hardly to be wondered at; and yet experience has since confirmed the truth and value of the ideas on which his experiment was based: the advantage, for instance, of large market-gardens in the neighbourhood of towns, the great waste of manure in populous cities, and the possibility of enormously increasing the productive power of land by improved methods of cultivation. And what Pestalozzi could not accomplish then, others have accomplished since; for when we visited Muligen and Neuhof in 1869, we found this very same land in a state of most rich and varied cultivation, and producing several crops in the year. Pestalozzi's dream, then, of a hundred years ago has to-day been realized. It must not be forgotten, however, that this agricultural experiment at Neuhof was by no means in accordance with the plans prepared at Kirchberg, since Pestalozzi had not been able to combine all the conditions on which he had counted, of which nearness to Zurich was one of the most important. But his confidence and impatient ardour brooked no delay, and he set about putting his plan into execution long before he had made sure of all the means necessary for its success. This, unfortunately, is not the only occasion on which he had to suffer for this characteristic tendency of his nature.

For a man in his position, the owner of Neuhof now took a most unaccountable step. His agricultural operations having failed, and what little money he had started with being as good as lost, he decided to turn his house into a refuge for poor children.

It has been said that had this not been an act of such monstrous folly, it would have been an instance of the most sublime self-sacrifice. As a matter of fact, it was nothing more than the natural effect of a reaction which had taken place in his thought and conscience since he had become a father, a reaction which we must now endeavour to trace from its very beginning, since it resulted in Pestalozzi's finding his true vocation, and becoming the benefactor of humanity.

CHAPTER IV.

PESTALOZZI THE FATHER.

He reproaches himself with no longer thinking of anything but the temporal interests of his family. The birth of his son fills him with religious remorse. He tries to bring up his child according to the principles of "Emile." Obliged at every step to correct Rousseau, he discovers the essential principles of his own method; value of this experiment for humanity; sad fate of the child who was the subject of it.

In the lives of young men there is often a period, more or or less transient, of passion and illusion, that carries them into paths from which disappointments and the experience of the realities of life compel them, sooner or later, to turn aside. It was in this way that Pestalozzi first threw himself into politics as a revolutionary, and then into agriculture as an innovator.

This latter step was indeed the chief folly of his youth.

Carried away, in the first place, by the utopian ideas in vogue in university circles at Zurich, and by the hope of finding in agricultural reform a means of improving the condition of the people, and afterwards by his love for Anna, and his desire to reassure her parents by preparing her a comfortable home, he gradually allowed a sordid ambition to take the place of the noble philanthropic enthusiasm which had hitherto filled his heart.

But this eclipse of his great thought of self-sacrifice did not last very long. He soon found himself ill at ease in this atmosphere of material interests and reproached himself bitterly with having forsaken his former ideal. He was, in short, tormented by religious remorse.

The disappointments caused by the failure of his agricultural experiments undoubtedly helped to bring about this moral regeneration, though they were not the primary cause of it. Indeed, the extracts we are about to give from his diary show that the crisis began at a time when Pestalozzi had as yet no reason to doubt the success of his enterprise.

Already, on the 9th of January, 1770, he wrote:

"Why do I no longer take pleasure in speculative science? Why am I so little interested in the search for truths of the greatest importance? Can it be because the vainglory and examples that stimulated me in the town are now lacking to me? But I am resolved to attend earnestly to the development of my faculties, in spite of the distractions necessarily resulting from the work my position involves. O God, strengthen me in this resolution!"

And in another place:

"We rose late, and urgent letters absorbed the time set apart for our prayers, with which we ought to allow nothing to interfere. I have been very busy all day, and have been happier than on those days when I have less to do. I am ashamed to confess this; it shows that I am incapable of giving proper attention to my own character. After writing the foregoing, I set to work to amuse myself; but I soon stopped, ashamed of my levity. Where will it lead me? What will it bring me to in a few years?"

Shortly after this his wife writes:

"I am taking advantage of my dear husband's absence to look back over my life, which has been but ill employed for some time past. I am hoping to become a mother. If it should please God to let my child and me live, what an awful duty is before me! But if I am to die . . . Oh, merciful Father! shed Thy grace and blessing upon us, strengthen and purify our hearts by Thy presence. . . . At last my husband came home. He asked me if I had prayed, and I was glad to see how happy it made him to hear how I had spent the day."

These few quotations will suffice to show that only a few months after their marriage, Pestalozzi and his wife were already blaming themselves for allowing material interests to shape their lives, and praying for help in their efforts after moral improvement.

When Pestalozzi became a father, this moral crisis took the form of deep religious remorse. Paternity, with its cares, duties, and responsibilities, places men in a new position, a position particularly calculated to make them examine their lives, and to bring about a complete moral and religious regeneration. Though a man may have been careless about himself, he will be anxious to keep his child from sin, knowing well enough the misery it produces; and he will feel the need of making himself holy, that he may be able to teach holiness to the one he holds so dear.

Pestalozzi's entry in his wife's diary soon after the birth of his son, is as follows:

"Ah, God! I saw the time of gravest anxiety approaching, yet I could neither pray nor weep; I did not lift up my heart to God, nor did I fall on my knees to bewail my faults, to ask pity, to pray the Lord not to take my beloved from me because of my sins, nor my son because of my transgressions. My heart is hardened, alas! I have no desire to be better, my soul is full of wickedness!"

He goes on for a long time like this, then concludes with St. Paul's cry: "Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?"

Farther on he says again:

"I was always busied with the things of no importance, and took no trouble to make my soul worthy of the happiest day of my life. Alas! I forgot my Lord and my God, and in my soul's anxiety addressed no prayer to Him who forms us all in our mothers' wombs, and who gives us breath and life. Forgive me, my Father, I am not worthy to be called Thy son.

"Thou hast surrounded me with blessings beyond measure; Thou hast preserved my wife's life and strength; Thou hast made me the father of an immortal soul. Ah! if I could only show my gratitude for Thy goodness by my repentance, repentance for a long life of sin from which I have never once turned aside! . . . Send me Thy Spirit from on high! Give me now new strength, create in me a new heart, fresh zeal! Oh, my son, my son! Horrible thought! If I were to fail in my duty to thee, if I were to lead thee astray from thy proper path, thou mightest some day before the Judge be the accuser of thy father, of him whose duty it was to lead thee aright! It would be better for me never to have seen thy face, and to have been cast into the bottom of the sea. God preserve me, my dear child, from ever suggesting any wickedness to thy soul."

What a noble sense of virtue and duty breathes through these words! How sensitive is this man's conscience, how sincere and thoroughly religious his soul! And yet in these most secret outpourings of a man who but recently was on the point of becoming a minister of the Gospel, there is no mention of Jesus, the Saviour of men, and refuge of despairing souls! The Christian doctrine of the Redemption seems indeed, to find no place in this soul, filled, nevertheless, with the most Christian love and repentance. It is clear that Pestalozzi had felt the influence of the age of incredulity in which he lived, and that the innocent faith of his childhood and early youth had suffered somewhat from the sophisms of Rousseau.

But it is also clear that a reaction has set in and that it has already made good progress. From Jean-Jacques to Pestalozzi, what a distance! The former always satisfied with himself, and excusing even his greatest errors; the latter bitterly reproaching himself the very moment that he becomes like other men, and gives his family's temporal interests the first place in his activity and his affections.

This new religious feeling, the first symptoms of which we have already called attention to, became much more marked after the birth of Pestalozzi's son; we shall now see it grow still more with his efforts to bring up his child properly, and finally develop into a most admirable example of Christian self-sacrifice.

In her book, *Progressive Education*, Madame Necker de Saussure expresses surprise that amongst the number of people who make notes on all sorts of subjects, no father should ever have thought of making notes on his child's progress. She did not know that sixty years before, this had already been done by the reformer of education. Some parts of the journal in which Pestalozzi wrote his observations on his child have been preserved in Niederer's *Notes on Pestalozzi* published at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1828.

This journal is as important as it is interesting, for it shows us a man who, starting with the intention of applying Rousseau's ideas to the education of his son and working for this object with the most scrupulous and unwavering care, is compelled at every step to stop and fall back on his own observations and on the memory of his mother's teaching. When we reflect that Rousseau had neither a son to educate nor a mother to remember, his mistakes will no longer surprise us.

The journal also shows us the gradual development of some of the most important principles of Pestalozzi's educational method, principles which were chiefly the result of his own experiments and reflections, but which also depended to some extent on the reaction which was taking place in him against Rousseau's theories.

The name of Pestalozzi's son was Jacob, but in German fashion he was generally called Jacobli. When the following notes were written, he was about three and a half years old. It must not be forgotten that at this time Pestalozzi was at Neuhof, and still busy with his agricultural operations.

"*January* 27*th*, 1774.—I called his attention to some running water. He was delighted, and, as I walked on down the hill, followed me, saying to the water: 'Wait a moment; I shall be back directly.' Presently I took him to the side of the same stream again. 'Look,' he cried, 'the water comes down too; it runs from up there and goes lower and lower.' As we followed the course of the stream, I repeated several times: 'Water flows down hill.'

"I told him the names of a few animals, saying: 'The dog, the cat, etc., are animals, but your uncle, John, Nicholas, are men.' I then asked him: 'What is a cow, a sheep, the minister, a goat, your cousin, etc?' and he answered correctly nearly every time, his wrong answers being accompanied by a sort of smile which seemed to say that he did not mean to answer properly. I think behind this fun there must be a desire to see how far his will is independent of mine?"

"*January* 29*th*.—I succeeded in making him sit for a long time at his lessons, after having first made him run and play out of doors in the cold. I can see that a man must be robust himself if he is to concern himself with his pupil's open-air games."

"*January* 30*th.*—He was soon tired of learning to read, but as I had decided that he should work at it regularly every day, whether he liked it or not, I determined to make him feel the necessity of doing so, from the very first, by showing him there was no choice between this work and my displeasure, which I made him feel by keeping him in. It was only after having been punished in this way three times that he at last conquered his impatience. From that time he did his work willingly and cheerfully.

"I showed him that wood swims in water and that stones sink."

"*February* 1*st.*—I taught him the Latin names for the different parts of the head. By figures and examples, I taught him the meaning of such words as inside, outside, below, above, amid, beside, etc. I showed him how snow became water when brought indoors.

"I found that teaching was made easier by changes of the voice, that is, by speaking sometimes loud, sometimes soft, and by constantly varying the expression. But to what might this not lead?

"The other day he saw the butcher kill some pigs, and in a spirit of imitation arranged some pieces of wood and prepared to do the same. At this moment his mother called 'Jacobli.' 'No, no,' he replied, 'you should call me Butcher now!'"

"*February* 2*nd.*—I tried to make him understand the meaning of numbers. At present he only knows their names, which he says by heart without attaching any precise meaning to them. To have a knowledge of words with no distinct idea of the things they represent enormously increases the difficulty of getting at the truth. The most ignorant man would have been struck by this fact if he had been present at our lesson. The child has been in the habit of associating no difference of meaning with the various names of numbers he pronounces, and this habit has made him so careless and inattentive that I could make absolutely no impression on him to-day.

"Why have I been so foolish as to let him pronounce important words without taking care at the same time to give him a clear idea of their meaning? Would it not have been more natural not to teach him to say 'three' till he thoroughly understood the meaning of 'two', and is it not in this way that children should be taught to count? Ah! how far I have erred from Nature's paths in trying to improve on her teaching! May I never lose sight of these truths, so important for wisdom and virtue!

"Let yourself be governed by the child's love of imitation! You have a stove in your room; draw it for him. Even if he should not succeed in a whole year in reproducing it exactly, he will at any rate have learned to sit still and work. There is instruction too, and, indeed, amusement in the comparison of mathematical figures and magnitudes. And again, to have one's own garden and grow all sorts of plants; to collect butterflies and insects, and classify them with exactitude and perseverance. . . . What a preparation for social life! What a safeguard against idleness and stupidity! And how far all this is from our ordinary education which is so little suited to children, who should learn to read first in the book of Nature!

"I could only get him to read with difficulty; he has a thousand ways of getting out of it, and never loses an opportunity of doing something else. When he wants something he cannot get, he very cleverly pretends that what he wants would help him in his lessons, or in his reading. I have been much struck by these tricks for some days past; it is clearly my duty to watch them with the greatest care."

"*February 3rd.*—I felt again to-day, no less strongly than yesterday, what a vicious system ours is for teaching a child to count. All words learned without thinking produce almost hopeless confusion in our minds, but how clear our knowledge would be, if we could receive the truth without alloy! O God! who art my Father and the Father of my child, teach me to understand the holy natural laws by which Thou preparest us slowly by means of an innumerable variety of impressions for conceiving exact and complete ideas, of which words are but the signs.

"When the child knows the signs before learning to know the things they represent, and especially when he connects false ideas with them, our daily lessons and conversation do but fortify and increase his error and push him the further along a wrong path without our even suspecting it. How difficult it then is to correct the evil, whereas, by proceeding slowly from truth to truth, we should be following the luminous path of Nature."

"*February 4th.*—Since yesterday Jacobli has not been well. To-day feverish symptoms frightened us, and we sent for the doctor. We had much difficulty to get the child to take any medicine. The doctor suggested that we should occasionally make him drink something unpleasant, but harmless, when quite well, in order that he might get so accustomed to it that when really ill he would no longer mind it. At first sight this seems to me a good idea, and I should be inclined to extend it to apply to education generally."

"*February 13th.*—Our care of Jacobli during his illness has made him more self-willed. I took a nut from him to crack it; he thought I was going to eat it and yelled with anger. I looked at him coldly, and then, without a word, took a second nut and ate them both before his eyes. He did not stop crying; I held him a looking-glass; he rushed off to hide himself.

"I have often admired the simple wisdom of our servant Nicholas. In the matter of education I am usually very anxious to learn the ideas of people who have been brought up quite naturally and without restraint, who have been taught by life itself and not by lessons. 'Nicholas,' I said, 'don't you think Jacobli has a good memory?' 'Yes,' he said; 'but you overload it.' This was just what I had often been afraid of. 'But,' I said, 'if the child were overburdened, I think we should notice it; he would lose heart and become timid and restless, at the very first symptoms of which I should of course stop.' 'Ah,' said Nicholas, 'then you really are anxious about the boy's spirit and happiness? That is just what I was afraid you would overlook.' Right, Nicholas! No education would be worth a jot that resulted in a loss of manliness and lightness of heart. So long as there is joy in the child's face, ardour and enthusiasm in all his games, so long as happiness accompanies most of his impressions, there is nothing to fear. Short moments of self-subjugation quickly followed by new interests and new joys do not dishearten.

"To see peace and happiness resulting from habits of order and obedience is the true preparation for social life.

"Father or schoolmaster, avoid, above all things, hurry and excitement; let your work be done quietly and in order. The greatest joys are often the result of long and patient investigation. Do not let your own knowledge weigh too heavily on the child, rather let truth itself speak to him; never tire of placing before his eyes whatever is likely to instruct him or assist his development. Train his eyes and ears, but seldom ask him for an opinion. As a general rule, do not ask him to judge of things of which he is not in immediate need, but ask him for his judgment only as Nature asks you for yours. She does not ask you to judge of the breadth of the ditch at the side of which you are walking, she only shows it you; but what she does ask you to judge of is the breadth of the ditch which is in your way and which you have to cross. Thus, then, whenever you have an opportunity of making your child apply what he says, it is natural and useful to ask his opinion."

"*February* 14*th.*—To-day I was pleased; he was quite willing to learn. I played with him,—was horseman, butcher, everything he wished.

"I drew a few straight lines for him to copy. Füssli, the painter, said to me: 'Let everything you do be complete; do not pass from A to B, for instance, till A is perfectly known.'

"Be in no hurry to get on, but make the first step sound before moving; in this way you will avoid confusion and waste. Order, exactness, completion; alas, not thus was my character formed. And in the case of my own child in particular, I am in great danger of being blinded by his quickness, and rapid progress, and, dazzled by the unusual extent of his knowledge, of forgetting how much ignorance lurks behind this apparent development, and how much has yet to be done before we can go farther. Completeness, orderliness, absence of confusion. . . . What important points!

"Since Nature gives us our first language, might she not give us ten others in the same way? I am beginning to see that I am not following her method closely enough in teaching Latin; I must try to get into the way of always speaking it. But in this respect I am satisfied with Jacobli's progress."

"*February* 15*th.*—I have noticed to-day that my child has a habit which shows his cleverness, but which I must watch most carefully. When he asks for anything, he always begins either by answering objections which he thinks likely to be made, or by giving reasons why the request should be granted. 'Mamma, I won't break it; I only want to look at it; I will use it in my lessons; I only want one.' We must take care that this trick does not succeed. An open, straightforward request is what we should like. When he asks in this roundabout way, we ought to insist on his making his request again in a simple manner. It would perhaps be well to refuse what he does not ask for properly.

"Lead your child out into Nature, teach him on the hilltops and in the valleys. There he will listen better, and the sense of freedom will give him more strength to overcome difficulties. But in these hours of freedom let him be taught by Nature rather than by you. Let him fully realize that she is the real teacher and that you, with your art, do nothing more than walk quietly at her side. Should a bird sing or an insect hum on a leaf, at once stop your talk; bird and insect are teaching him; you may be silent.

"But in those few hours of study devoted to the steady acquirement of necessary knowledge, you must suffer no interruption. Let such hours be few, but let them be inviolable. The least irregularity in this respect must be immediately corrected. Make it impossible for the child to have the faintest hope of being able to escape this duty. Such a hope would encourage restlessness, whereas the certainty that there is no escape will cause even the desire to escape to be forgotten. In this case, indeed, Nature must no longer be listened to, and the child's desire for freedom must be resisted.

"A father who guides wisely and blames justly must be obeyed by his child, but no unnecessary command must be given. Never let your orders be the result of caprice, or vanity, or a partiality for knowledge which is not essential. To ensure obedience it is most important that children should know exactly what is forbidden. Nothing produces so much bitter feeling as the punishment of ignorance as a fault. If you punish an innocent child you lose your hold on his heart. We must not imagine that a child knows by instinct what is harmful and what things are held to be important.

"Plenty of joy and liberty, with a few periods of restraint, during which the child has to fight against and subdue his natural desires, will give strength and the power of endurance. Too much restraint would have a disheartening effect, and joys coming more rarely would no longer have the same happy influence. The character is formed by the strongest and most frequent impressions, all others are comparatively powerless. That is why it is possible for education to correct defects, and why the maxim is no less false than discouraging which says that a few chance impressions suffice to undo the work of the most careful educator.

"Jacobli has been self-willed and violent; I have been obliged to punish him several times to-day."

"*February* 16*th and* 17*th.*—To cure his stubbornness and avoid the daily renewal of the same rebukes, which, unfortunately, is beginning to be necessary, I must be more careful to alternate his lessons with his games, and not curtail his liberty unnecessarily; I must also decide definitely exactly how much time is to be set apart for actual study, so that nothing he learns at other times may seem like work.

"I have taught him to hold his pencil. Although this is a very small matter, I will never let him hold it badly again."

"*February* 18*th.*—To-day I have been walking with him a great deal. How little I am yet able to take advantage of circumstances which might help to teach some useful lesson!

"My wife met the carpenter and asked for the payment of a debt. 'Mamma,' cried Jacobli, 'don't vex the carpenter.'"

"*February* 19*th.*—I find myself sometimes embarrassed through having given up, with all other pedantries, the master's tone of authority. Where shall I draw the line between liberty and obedience, that social life so soon compels us to draw?

"REASONS FOR LIBERTY.

"It is impossible to curtail a child's liberty without, to some extent, incurring his dislike.

"Experience proves that children who have been too much under restraint, make up for it later by excesses in the opposite direction.

"Restraint excites various passions.

"A wise liberty induces the child to keep his eyes and ears open, and makes him contented, happy, and even-tempered.

"But this complete liberty supposes a preliminary education, which has taught the child submission to the nature of things, though not to the will of man.

"REASONS FOR OBEDIENCE.

"Without it there is no education possible. There are crises, indeed, when the child would be ruined by being allowed his liberty. Even under the most favourable circumstances it is impossible not to thwart his will occasionally.

"Liberty does not stifle the passions, it only delays their development. It is vanity, for instance, that makes Emile tremble in his desire to excel the juggler. And does not Rousseau himself recognise the state of dependence in which society places us, when he says that there are some men of such passionate natures that they would certainly have to be subjected to restraint in their youth, if their childhood had been left entirely free.

"Social life demands such talents and habits as it is not possible to form without restraining the child's liberty.

"Which of these is the true position and which the false? Liberty is good, and so is obedience. We must reconcile what Rousseau separated when, struck by the evils of the unwise restraint that only tends to degrade humanity, he advocated unbounded liberty.

"Let us endeavour to see how far he was right, and profit by his wisdom.

"I would say to the teacher: Be thoroughly convinced of the immense value of liberty; do not let vanity make you anxious to see your efforts producing premature fruit; let your child be as free as possible, and seek diligently for every means of ensuring his liberty, peace of mind, and good humour. Teach him absolutely nothing by words that you can teach him by the things themselves; let him see for himself, hear, find out, fall, pick himself up, make mistakes; no word, in short, when action is possible. What he can do for himself, let him do it; let him be always occupied, always active, and let the time you leave him to himself represent by far the greatest part of his childhood. You will then see that Nature teaches him better than men.

"But when you see the necessity of accustoming him to obedience, prepare yourself with the greatest care for this duty, the most difficult of all in such an education as we are considering. Remember that if restraint robs you of your pupil's confidence, all your labour is lost. Make sure, then, of his heart, and let him feel that you are necessary to him. Be merrier and pleasanter than any of his companions; in his games let him prefer you to all the rest.

"He must trust you. If he often asks for something you do not think good, tell him what the consequences will be, and leave him his liberty. But you must take care that the consequences are such as he will not easily forget, Always show him the right way. Should he leave it and fall into the mire, go to his rescue, but do not shield him from the unpleasant results of having enjoyed complete liberty, and of not having listened to your warnings. In this way his trust in you will be so great that it will not be shaken even when you have to thwart him. He must obey the wise teacher or the father he has learned to respect; but only in cases of necessity must an order be given."

We have quoted from the journal at this length, because it has such direct bearing on the history of that great educational reform which began a hundred years ago, and which, partly in accordance with Rousseau's ideas, partly in opposition to them, is still going on.

In the extracts we have given, we see Pestalozzi not only finding out the defects of Rousseau's system, but discovering some of the principles which he was afterwards to develop for the good of humanity.

And yet this gentle and clear-sighted father, always under the charm of the eloquent author of *Emile*, often forgets his own principles and falls back into the very errors he condemns.

The poor child, who was the subject of all these experiments, and to whom we perhaps owe the Pestalozzian method, paid dearly for them. The system of the Genevan Philosopher continued to predominate in his education till the year 1775, but after that time his teaching became subordinate to the needs of a new enterprise which absorbed all his father's time and strength, and for the next five years he was simply the companion of the little ragged children, of whom we shall read in the next chapter.

In 1782, in a periodical he was then editing, Pestalozzi wrote as follows:

"My son is more than eleven years old and cannot yet read or write; but this does not at all trouble me.

"The other day when he was playing alone near his mother, she said to him: 'To-morrow is papa's birthday; wouldn't you like to do something for him?' 'Yes, if I could write,' answered the child. 'If you will say something, I will write it for you,' said his mother. Whereupon he began to think, running up and down the room and muttering, almost singing, to himself what he wanted to say. Before very long he came and smiled at his mother. 'What do you want, my dear child?' 'Ah, you know very well.' 'Have you something to say to me for papa?' 'Yes, if you will write it down.'

His mother then wrote down word for word the following lines, which the child dictated in a chanting voice, explaining that it was poetry:

My wish, dear papa, for your birthday to-day,
Is that you may live a long, long time;
I thank you a thousand times for all your kindnesses,
I thank you for having brought me up tenderly and happily,
I thank you again a thousand times for the kindnesses
Which I have received from you all the days of my life.
Thank you a thousand, thousand times!
I don't know how often I should like to thank you!
Now I will tell you what is in my heart:
I shall rejoice, I shall rejoice terribly
When you can say: I have brought up my son in happiness;
I shall rejoice, I shall rejoice with my whole heart
When I can say: I am his joy and his happiness.
Then only shall I be able to thank you
For all you have done for me during my life.
You will be glad as well as I,
The day I can say it.
Then we will be happy together all our lives,
Then we will pray to God together,
And dear mamma will also pray with us.
Then we will work together like lambs,
That we may live with God and with honour,
And that we may be content with what God gives us.

Now dear papa is coming;
We shall love and kiss each other,
And mamma too.
I want to put my arms round their two necks at once.

This child, whose emotional side, in spite of Rousseau, was so highly developed, but who had received so little preparation for practical life, was, at the age of fourteen, placed in a school at Colmar. His father's first letter to him, dated January 16th, 1784, runs as follows:

"We now send you, my dear Jacobli, what we had ready; you shall have more in a few days. We are not troubled by your going away, for both mamma and I pray God that you may become worthy of all the goodness and affection that have been shown to you.

"In God's name, Jacobli, pray and work. Be diligent, thoughtful, quiet, clean, and obedient. Forget the coarse manners of the peasants, and learn to do everything properly. You have the opportunity now, and you must take advantage of it, for it will never return. But I hope God will not let you sadden by your disobedience those to whom you owe so much.

"My child, you are all I have in the world; it is for you alone that I care to live; it is for you that I have suffered more, so to speak, than I could bear. It is in your hands now either to reward me with the deepest joy, or to render my life for ever unhappy. For that is what will certainly happen if you do not diligently and zealously prepare for some suitable career, if you do not show the good effects of the kindness and consideration with which I have always treated you, if you are not better than boys brought up with restraint and severity."

Jacobli was afterwards apprenticed to a commercial firm in Basle, the head of the firm being Felix Battier, who was a friend of Pestalozzi's, and to whom, in 1787, he dedicated the fourth part of *Leonard and Gertrude*. But the boy did not succeed either in his studies or his apprenticeship. At Basle, moreover, symptoms of ill-health began to show themselves, and in 1790 he returned to Neuhof, where, in 1791, he married Anna Madeline Froehlich, of Brugg, the daughter of the owner of Muligen. Their three first children died in infancy, but Gottlieb, born in 1797, lived till 1863, and was the father of Colonel Pestalozzi, who is now a professor in the Polytechnic School at Zurich.

After his return to Neuhof, Jacobli suffered severely from rheumatism, his condition in 1797 becoming so grave that it was thought he was dying. He lingered on till 1800 however, in great pain, and with one side entirely paralysed, his wife and parents and the faithful Elizabeth [1] doing their utmost to alleviate his sufferings. His mother, who happened not to be with him when he died, made the following entry in her diary:

> "It pleased God to take him to Himself by a painless death. May God's peace be on him in the grave, and may the Divine pity welcome his soul. May God grant you, good and dear child, a rich compensation for all the pain you have endured, and may we, who have loved you so well, not be long before we join you. . . . Yet God granted me the joy of seeing him once more at rest. As he lay in death the beautiful expression of his mouth showed that he had been received like an angel into heaven. Are not our prayers and eternal gratitude owing to God for His goodness?"

In the happy days of his childhood, Jacobli had planted a lime-tree near the south-west corner of the house, and for many years after his death his parents tended it with loving care. It has now been long neglected, but it is a big, thriving tree, that the visitor to Neuhof loves to contemplate in memory of the poor child at whose expense the experiment was made which has conferred such benefits upon humanity.

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[1] An account of this heroic woman will be found at the end of the next chapter.

CHAPTER V.

PESTALOZZI THE PHILANTHROPIST.

He receives into his house twenty-five poor children; great success of his first attempt. Iselin makes his enterprise known, and recommends it to the public. Donations enable him to increase the number of children to eighty. Troubles caused by the unreasonableness of the parents; great losses, followed by complete ruin. In ill-health, and entirely without resources, he is saved by the devotion of a poor servant.

WE have seen how Pestalozzi, on becoming a father, was filled with remorse for having forgotten the cause of the people in his care for the material interests of his own family, and how he made up his mind afresh to devote himself to that work of patriotic philanthropy which had so forcibly appealed to him when he was still but a youth. We have seen, too, how his thoughtful experiments with his son had suggested new ideas and new principles of education which seemed to him to be particularly fitted for the regeneration of poor children.

Struck by the child's natural need of continual activity, and by the abundance and versatility of its physical, intellectual and moral faculties, it occurred to him that by guiding all these powers aright, and by varying work in such a way as to prevent fatigue, it would be possible not only to teach children to earn their bread, but to cultivate their intellectual and moral nature at the same time. He thought, too, that a country life, in which the cultivation of the land was combined with some sort of handicraft, would provide the best means for teaching the poorest children that by their own strength, and with God's help, they are capable not only of satisfying their own wants, but of contributing to the happiness of their family and country.

> "It is not enough," he would say, "for them to repeat by heart that man was created in God's image, and that he must live and die as a child of God, but they must feel this truth in their hearts with such divine force as to rise not merely above the ox that ploughs, but above the man clothed in silk and purple who lives unworthily of his high destiny."

In his eyes, this was the only way of relieving the distress of the people; in all charitable institutions, which accustom the poor to eat bread they have not earned, he saw nothing but temporary remedies, which, in the end, do but aggravate the evil.

He held these convictions so strongly, and his desire to improve the condition of the people was so real, that he decided to carry out an experiment in his own house and on his own land, hoping in this way to make Neuhof the model and centre of this great work of regeneration.

Having failed in his attempts to grow madder, and also in his attempts to establish a cheese-dairy, for which purpose he had laid down a considerable quantity of pasture-land, he had found it necessary to conduct his operations on a scale more consistent with his reduced means. But he still owed some four hundred pounds of the purchase money, and had not only to complete his buildings, but to carry out the various improvements he had begun on the land.

He had tried the system of paid workmen, but with very unsatisfactory results; he found that they seldom worked with a will, that they nearly always had inveterate vices, and hopelessly bad methods; he hoped more, however, from the children, who, brought up under his own roof, would owe him everything.

He was determined then, at all costs, to undertake this new work. Many years afterwards, in the *Song of the Swan*, he spoke of his determination in these words:

> "Our position entailed much suffering on my wife, but nothing could shake us in our resolve to devote our time, strength, and remaining fortune to the simplification of the instruction and domestic education of the people."

In the winter of 1774 the experiment began, and several children, some from the neighbouring villages, some mere vagrants from the roadside, went to live at Neuhof with Pestalozzi, who clothed them, fed them, and treated them in every way as his own. They were always with him, sharing in the work of the garden, the fields, and the house, and in bad weather spinning cotton in a large out-house. Very little time was given to actual lessons; indeed the children were often taught while working with their hands, Pestalozzi being in no hurry to teach them to read and write, convinced as he was that this is only useful for those who have learned to talk. He gave them constant practice in conversation, however, on subjects taken from their everyday life, and made them repeat passages from the Bible till they knew them by heart.

This first experiment, which was made with not more than twenty children, was apparently a complete success. In a few months the appearance of the poor little creatures had entirely changed; notwithstanding the extreme simplicity of their fare, they looked strong and robust, and their faces wore an expression of cheerfulness, frankness, and intelligence, which, when they first arrived, had been entirely wanting. They made considerable progress with their manual work, as well as with the lessons that were joined to it, taking great pleasure in both. All they did and said, moreover, seemed to express their appreciation of their benefactor's kind care for them.

In this way the year 1775 passed. But the experiment, modest as it was, was far beyond Pestalozzi's means, nor did the work of the children in any way suffice for the proper cultivation of his land. Many more were anxious to come, it is true, and Pestalozzi longed to receive them, but he could not do so without new domestic arrangements and increased expense.

This experiment at Neuhof had been talked of far and wide, and had excited the interest and admiration of all such men as were capable of appreciating the beautiful and noble thought that had suggested it. Money was offered to Pestalozzi to carry it on with, and he was advised to appeal to the friends of humanity for help to extend his undertaking, and so make it a complete success.

This advice he was not slow to follow, and in the beginning of 1776 his appeal appeared in the weekly paper, published by Iselin of Basle, entitled, *Ephemerides of Humanity* (p. 293). It ran thus:

Appeal to the friends and benefactors of humanity to support an institution intended to provide education and work for poor country children.

"I appeal to the friends and benefactors of humanity to help me to maintain an institution which I can no longer maintain alone.

"I have for a long time thought it probable that, under favourable circumstances, young children might be able to earn their own living without undue labour, provided that enough capital were advanced to organize an establishment, in which they would not only live, but at the same time receive a certain elementary education. I consider that any careful experiment in this direction would be of the highest importance for humanity.

"In the poor district in which I live, I have been struck by the misery of children placed with peasants by the parish. I have seen them crushed by hard selfishness, and left for the most part without spirit or energy, I might almost say without life in body or soul, and I have seen them grow up entirely devoid of those feelings and powers that make useful and upright men. As the situation of my property near Koenigsfelden seemed favourable for the purpose, I felt irresistibly impelled to put my idea into execution. I thought at first that my means would be sufficient, but I find now that they are not. Still, more than a year's experiment has convinced me that now that the first difficulties have been surmounted, there is nothing to prevent my plan being carried to a successful issue.

"I have proved that children will thrive and grow on the very simplest diet, if properly varied; such, for instance, as potatoes or other vegetables, and a little bread.

"I have proved that it is not regular work that stops the development of so many poor children, but the turmoil and irregularity of their lives, the privations they endure, the excesses they indulge in when the opportunity offers, the wild rebellious passions so seldom restrained, and the hopelessness to which they are so often a prey.

"I have proved that children, after having lost health, strength, and courage in a life of idleness and mendicity, have, when once set to regular work, quickly recovered their health and spirits, and grown rapidly. Such is the effect of altered circumstances, and the absence of disquieting influences.

"I have found that when taken out of their abject condition, they soon become kindly, trustful, and sympathetic; that even the most degraded of them are touched by kindness, and that the eyes of the child who has been steeped in misery, grow bright with pleasure and surprise, when, after years of hardship, he sees a gentle friendly hand stretched out to help him; and I am convinced that when a child's heart is thus touched, his whole moral nature is the better for it.

"I have found, too, that living together in a well-managed house not only lessens the expense of supporting these children, but increases their zeal for work, and encourages their proper development.

"Had I but had the necessary means, I do not doubt but that I should have succeeded in my object and attained these two great and useful results: instruction adapted to the limited needs of ordinary workmen, and the rescue of children from the very lowest conditions of humanity. The boy who only grows up into a vagabond, perhaps a criminal; the girl, who, without guide or support, prepares for herself a life of misery and dishonour; all, in short, who would almost inevitably be lost both for themselves and their country, these are they whom I was anxious to save, and whom I wished to prepare by education for a useful and active life.

"From an economical point of view, and in many other respects, the position of my house and land seems admirably adapted for the purpose; but to this simple and feasible scheme of agricultural education I unfortunately joined a great industrial and commercial experiment, and with culpable thoughtlessness, entered on paths entirely unknown to me, and engaged in undertakings of too varied and complicated a character. These experiments did not answer my expectations, and I found myself suddenly deprived of resources on which I had thought I could depend, and in imminent danger of ruin. I had therefore to abandon commerce and industry, and return, not too late I hope, to my original idea of simply educating children.

"But to-day I can no longer do even that without help, and I accordingly submit my plan to the friends and benefactors of humanity.

"My prayer is that they will advance me a small sum yearly, for six years. After the tenth year, the money will be paid back in yearly instalments from the earnings of the workmen I have trained.

"I promise that if I succeed in getting this help, I will abandon every other occupation, and devote my whole time and strength to the education of poor friendless children. I promise that the number of the children shall be regulated by the financial support I receive. I promise to teach them all to read, write, and cipher; I promise to give all the boys, so far as my position and knowledge will allow me, practical instruction in the most profitable methods of cultivating small plots of land, to teach them to lay down pasture-land, to understand the use and value of manures, to know the different sorts of grasses, and the importance of mixing them; the nature and use of marl; the effect, still disputed, of the repeated application of lime; the management of fruit-trees, and perhaps of a few forest trees. All this will come naturally out of the work connected with the actual needs of the house, and will not be a special study calling for increased expense. It will be the household needs, too, that will give the girls an opportunity of learning gardening, domestic duties, and needlework.

"The chief occupation in bad weather will be cotton-spinning.

"I undertake to furnish all these children with suitable food, clothing, and lodging, and have already made many of the necessary alterations and arrangements in my house.

"I promise to give the most conscientious attention to their religious instruction, and to do all I can to put gentleness and purity into their hearts.

"I have still to add that in support of my views I can point to the twenty children who are now living and working with me. They are in perfect health, and their happiness, in spite of hard work, has surpassed my expectations. Their general cheerfulness and courage, and the delicate feeling and affection of which several of them have given proof, fill me with great hopes for the future. The care and expense of these children will continue to be mine alone."

Pestalozzi then promises to give a yearly account of the progress of his work, and asks to have it inspected, so that no money may be given unless his promises are found to have been faithfully performed. He then mentions a few names of prominent men who have already expressed approval of his plan, and are prepared to give the necessary information to any who desire it. The appeal closes with these words:

"Friends of humanity, notwithstanding all my mistakes and the injury I have done myself by my precipitation, will you still give me your confidence, and support an undertaking which, though it is beset with dangers, is likely to have the happiest results, my past errors having taught me many lessons.

"*Neuhof, Koenigsfelden, December 9th*, 1775,

"J. H. PESTALOZ."[1]

Amongst the men of talent and influence who approved of the enterprise, none supported it with more zeal than Iselin, of Basle, the editor of the *Ephemerides*, a high-souled and noble-minded man of whom his country should be proud. Soon after Pestalozzi's appeal had been made public, Iselin made the following announcement in his paper:

"We are happy to state that Mr. Pestaloz has not appealed for help in vain. The Council of Commerce of the Berne Republic, together with many private individuals, have promised to support him, so that there is a reasonable hope of his work being continued. In further explanation of his views, we hope shortly to publish some letters from Mr. Pestaloz, in which will be found many excellent ideas on the rural education of poor children."

The letters thus announced by Iselin, together with notices of the establishment at Neuhof and evidence as to its working, were collected from the *Ephemerides*, and published by Seyffarth in his complete edition of Pestalozzi's works (vol. viii.). These various documents throw a new light on this attempt to regenerate the working classes, regeneration no less needed in many countries to-day. As their length unfortunately does not allow us to give them in full, a short summary must suffice.

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[1] Pestalozzi's family often signed Pestaloz or Pestaluz, probably to give their Italian name a termination more in keeping with the language of Zurich.

First letter to N. E. T. (*Undated.*)

Pestalozzi points out that the defect of ordinary institutions for the education of poor children is that the children are not brought up consistently with the position that they will probably occupy in after life; they contract habits which they will afterwards have to give up; they do not learn to be satisfied with merely having their most pressing wants supplied; they form no habits of steady application or frugality, because they know that whatever they may do, they cannot want for anything.

Second letter, to the same, January 10*th*, 1777.

Poor children must be brought up in private establishments where agriculture and industry are combined, and where the living is of the very simplest; they must learn to work steadily and carefully with their hands, the chief part of their time being devoted to this manual work, and their instruction and education being associated with it.

The work of the children must pay for their keep; in this way they will be working for themselves, and their style of living will depend on the success of their work.

But is it possible for children's work to pay for their keep, and if so, under what conditions? Pestalozzi examines this question with the greatest care.

He supposes an establishment receiving children at the age of eight or nine years and keeping them for six years. The first year he would admit twenty-five, the second fifteen, the third fifteen, and so on each year till the total number of a hundred pupils was reached. Then he calculates for each year, on the one hand, the earnings of each child at cotton-spinning according to his age, on the other, the expenses of the establishment, and from this calculation it results that after the sixth year the establishment would have paid all its expenses and would be making a clear profit.

Pestalozzi then goes on to say that in his district, agriculture alone will not support all the inhabitants, and has to be supplemented by some form of industry, adapted to the particular conditions of the place. As to agriculture, very expensive operations are, of course, not possible for the poor; all they can hope for is to have a small piece of land to cultivate, the produce of which will provide for their household wants, and perhaps leave them something to sell. He therefore teaches his children hardly anything but the cultivation of vegetables, in which he finds that they take a great interest; afterwards, having seen how much can be got out of the land by steady and intelligent labour, they will be eager to have some of their own.

Pestalozzi then comes to the religious question. We will here give his own words:

"What a terrible responsibility for the director, who, should he let the children forget their God, their Father, their Saviour, or fail to implant in them the faith in God's revelation, which is our only support in trouble and the hope of the eternal life to which we are called, will surely be made to account for his neglect of these young souls! The director should be, as it were, a father to the children; their progress in application and in wisdom should cause him a father's joy; the daily improvement in their powers, their minds and hearts should raise his own character, and so be his reward; if this were not so, the work would not be worth his trouble and would profit him nothing."

Third letter, to the same.

Neuhof, March 19*th*, 1777.

Pestalozzi here gives an account of the results of his experiment for the past three years; from which he concludes that success in his enterprise is not at all impossible. For instance, it is possible to make the work of the children pay for their maintenance; for the amount both of earnings and expenses has entirely justified his calculations.

It is possible to encourage their growth and keep them strong and well on a very plain and inexpensive diet, for they eat hardly anything but vegetable food; and though they work hard, they are very robust; the strongest go about in summer bareheaded and without shoes or stockings. (Jacobli, the director's only son, is treated in the same way.)

It is possible in a very short time not only to make them moderately good workers, but at the same time to teach them all that it is most necessary for them to know.

But there have been unforeseen difficulties:

1st. There are some children so accustomed to a vagrant life that they cannot be induced to give it up.

2nd. There are some parents so ungrateful and unnatural that they will sacrifice the welfare and future of their children for the smallest immediate advantage; they come to Neuhof and entice them away the very moment they see that they are clean, in good health, well clothed, and in a position to earn something.

The past year has been a hard one for the establishment; Mrs. Pestalozzi has been seriously ill nearly the whole time. In spite of the greatest attention to cleanliness, several children have suffered from an infectious skin disease. There have also been twenty-four cases of measles in the house, all ending happily, however. Finally the crops have suffered three times from hail storms.

But Pestalozzi is not discouraged; he will never forsake the work, nor will his wife. But he thinks it can never prosper, or meet with complete success, unless, by formal agreements with the parents and by the help of the authorities, it is made impossible for any child to be taken away from the establishment before his full time is up.

A few words on the most degraded portion of humanity An appeal to the charitable to come to its assistance.

Neuhof, September 18th, 1777.

In this paper Pestalozzi gives a detailed account of a dozen of these poor children. They came to him in a state of such degradation as to excite almost as much fear as compassion; they seemed absolutely incapable of doing anything but harm either to society, their families, or themselves.

Many of them, however, were very intelligent, and nearly all have improved very much already, and are beginning to work well enough to earn their own living. Judging from his experience, Pestalozzi thinks that even the weakest and most feeble-minded ones may be saved.

But the director must be a father to them, no other relationship being really efficacious and salutary in this sort of education.

The children must remain in the establishment five or six years, and must be kept from the influence of their real parents, whenever such influence is unmistakably pernicious. Pestalozzi has now thirty-six children in his house; this number will be increased next spring, and the financial position of the establishment will be thereby improved.

Educational Establishment for poor children at Neuhof, in Aargau. (*Undated.*)

This is a report addressed by Pestalozzi to the supporters of his undertaking, in which he explains his plans and the difficulties that are still to be overcome, and begs them to continue their support, and to have the establishment inspected by competent persons.

The household numbers fifty, including the masters, workmen, and servants necessary for the proper education and training of the children and the proper cultivation of the land.

The experience gained at Neuhof shows clearly that it is absolutely necessary to attach some conditions to the admission of pupils, and Pestalozzi feels compelled to say that in future he will receive no child without a formal agreement with the parents. Town children he will not admit at all, unless very young, for they are a constant source of trouble.

Pestalozzi ends by repeating his determination to devote himself entirely to this work.

Then follows a statement by the Berne Agricultural Society, in which the Society declares that, having had the establishment at Neuhof examined by well-known and competent men, it has every confidence that Pestalozzi will make it succeed, and is glad to be able to commend it to the attention of the public.

Then comes a note by Iselin, who corroborates the Society's statement, and offers to receive any donations for the Neuhof establishment, and forward them to Pestalozzi.

Authentic account of Mr. Pestalozzi's Educational Establishment for poor children at Neuhof, near Birr, in the year 1778.

This was a pamphlet published by the before-mentioned Society, containing first a preface by the Society, which is almost word for word the same as the statement we have just summarized, and then an account by Pestalozzi himself, signed: "J. H. Pestalozze, Neuhof, February 26th, 1778."

This new account is little more than a repetition of the others. At the end, Pestalozzi announces that he has received some sixty pounds in donations, thanks his benefactors, and begs the public to continue their support.

But the special interest of this pamphlet is that it contains a detailed account of each of the thirty-seven pupils. As these details take us to the heart of the matter, and teach us more than any number of generalizations, we shall give them word for word:

"I have to-day in my establishment the following children:

"1. Barbara Brunner, of Esch (Zurich), 17; admitted three years ago in a state of utter ignorance, but very intelligent. Now she spins, reads, and writes fairly well, likes singing, is principally engaged in the kitchen.

"2. Frena Hirt, 15; } two sisters, from Windisch.
"3. Maria Hirt, 11; }

"Frena has a weak chest; she spins well, is beginning to sew and write nicely. I am pleased with her character. Maria is younger and stronger, is quick at everything, especially figures, and spins remarkably well; she is quite strong enough for any work suited to her age.

"4. Anna Vogt, 19; } two sisters, from Mandach.
"5. Lisbeth Vogt, 11; }

"They came to me three years ago, terribly neglected in body and mind; they had spent their lives in begging. We have had enormous trouble to make them in the least degree orderly, truthful, and active. The ignorance of the elder, and the depth of degradation to which she had sunk are scarcely credible. She is still idle, but her heart seems to have been touched. She still feels the effect of her miserable childhood, and suffers from swollen feet and other ailments; she is absolutely incapable of out-door work.

"The younger sister is intelligent and robust, but I tremble at her determined opposition to all good influences. Lately, however, I have seen, I fancy, some very slight traces of improvement. She spins fairly well, and can do any sort of work either in the house or the fields.

"6. Henri Vogt, of Mandach, 11; has been here three years; can weave, is beginning to write, works hard at French and arithmetic, is exact and careful in all he does; but he seems cunning and deceitful, suspicious and greedy; has good health.

“7. Anneli Vogt, of Mandach, 11, daughter of Jacob Vogt; likes work, spins well, sings prettily, is apt at figures, is strong and useful out of doors as well as in the house; has been here three years.

“8. Jacob Vogt, her brother, 9; here three years. He is subject to occasional attacks of colic, one of the results of his wretched childhood. He is stubborn and very idle.

“9. Jacob Eichemberger, of Brunegg, 13; was induced to run away six months ago, but came back after a long absence. He seems to have a good disposition; he is intelligent, strong and useful in the fields; he is attentive, a good weaver, and is beginning to write fairly well.

“10. Lisbeth Renold, of Brunegg, 10; when admitted a year and a half ago she was so weak from want of proper food that she could hardly walk; has made great progress; enjoys good health now, and is very intelligent, but there is little hope of her ever being strong enough for work in the fields. She spins well and diligently.

“11. David Rudolf, of Zurzach, 15; here a year and a half; weaves well, has a good disposition, writes well, and takes pains with arithmetic and French.

“12. Leonzi Hediger, of Endingen, near Baden (Aargau), 14; has been here three years. He is a healthy boy, strong and accustomed to working in the fields; the best weaver in the house; is beginning to write a little, and likes French. He is quick at everything, but ill-mannered and uncouth.

“13. Francisca Hediger, his sister, 16; here three years; she spins, sews, and cooks equally well; she has all the qualities of a thoughtful, obedient, intelligent, and honest servant.

“14. Marianne Hediger,
“15. Maria Hediger,
two sisters; both healthy, active and capable of house-work or field-work.

“16. Friedly Mynth, of Bussy, near Aubonne, lived afterwards at Worblauffen, 10; has been here six months; she is very weak, and incapable of real work, but is clever in drawing, and has very artistic tastes. Inclined to fun; does nothing but draw.

“17. Susan Mynth, her sister, 9; healthy, very diligent and active, takes pleasure in her studies.

"18. Marianne Mynth, their sister, 8; a pretty child, intelligent, very sensitive, and as whimsical and self-willed as her sisters; she is not strong enough for heavy work.

"19. Babeli Baechli, 17; has been here three years; she is very inattentive and thoughtless, and only useful for running errands; of very little intelligence, but strong and healthy.

"20. Jacob Baechli, her brother, 15; here three years; is also inattentive and thoughtless; spent his childhood in begging and idleness; weaves fairly well, and is beginning to write, but has no taste for French; discontented and hard to satisfy.

"21. Rudi Baechli, 10; here three years; remarkable for his taste for figures, good-nature, and calm earnestness in his religious duties.

"22. Maria Baechli, his sister, 8; weak both in mind and body. But it will be very interesting for humanity to see that imbecile children, who, badly brought up, would have had nothing but the madhouse before them, may by tender care be saved from this sad end, and taught to earn a modest and independent livelihood.

"23. George Vogt, of Mandach, 11; here two years; a very promising boy; takes pains with everything; kind, intelligent, lively, healthy, and useful in the fields and in the house.

"24. Henri Fuchsli, of Brugg, 7; has only been here a few weeks; seems intelligent.

"25. Jean Maurer, of Stettlen, 15; here six months; strong, and very useful in the fields, weaves well, is fairly diligent, and has some power; but I am sometimes afraid that his simplicity and amiability are only a pretence.

"26. Anni Maurer, his sister, 12; of most uncouth manners, especially at meals; very slow and lazy, lies most unblushingly; spins well, but slowly and with much labour; is strong and healthy.

"27. Louis Schroeter, 15; very able boy, but unfortunately very deceitful; as he writes well, and has made great progress with arithmetic and French, he is very useful to me; has an exceptionally good ear for music.

"28. Babette Schroeter, his sister, 14; sews, spins, and reads fairly well, is beginning to write.

"29. Nanette Henri, 9; } brother and sister.
"30. Gatton Henri, 8; }

"These children have lately been sent to me from Schenkenberg by the head of the French colony, who generously provided them with many necessaries. They are well-behaved and good-tempered; Gatton is very capable and vivacious, Nanette less so. They have never been accustomed to do anything, and their open and affectionate natures make it hard to set them to steady work so soon. But I am quite sure they will get on well, especially Gatton.

"31. Suzanne Dattwyler, of Elfingen, 10; her unfortunate father is in prison; she came to me half dead from want and trouble, but her bodily strength is returning in a surprising manner. She spins well; is very quick, especially at singing.

"32. Suzanne de Tallheim, 10; natural child; has been in the habit of running away; is intelligent, but deceitful and capricious. Likes singing, spins well, has good health.

"33. Conrad Meyer, 10;
"34. Lisbeth Meyer, 9; } of Rohrdorf, near Baden.
"35. Maurice Meyer, 4;

"Came to me quite recently after a life of vagrancy. Conrad is healthy; Lisbeth's nature promises well; Maurice was in a terrible condition from want, but is beginning to regain strength. He seems intelligent.

"36. George Hediger, 4; this child and the one last mentioned are the only two children in the house who are still too young to earn anything by their work.

"37. Henry Hirsbrunner, of Sumiswald, 12; this boy is very clever and attentive. I expect very much from him, if only, after having been a servant in the town, he can reconcile himself to our mode of life. He makes rapid progress, and has learned to write better in a few days than others who have been learning for months.

"In the management of the establishment and care of the children, I get very valuable help from Miss Madelon Spindler, of Strasburg, who is both highly gifted and of untiring activity. I have, besides, a master to teach weaving, and two skilled weavers; a mistress to teach spinning, and two good spinners; a man who winds for the weavers and teaches reading at the same time; and two men and two women who are almost always employed on the land."

These quotations give an exact and complete idea of what the establishment at Neuhof was like till the spring of 1778, when Pestalozzi considerably increased the number of his children, hoping in that way to improve the financial condition of his undertaking. But the step had just the contrary effect, or rather, it had no effect in stopping the ruin which was already imminent.

At this time, the grave evil that Pestalozzi was attempting to cure was very widespread in the district, as is evident from the large number of children brought to him (at one time he had as many as eighty), and from the utter demoralization of both children and parents.

To many of the children their vagrant, idle life had become more than a habit, it had become almost a necessity; they hated the steady, hardworking life to which they were now called; nor did the simple, frugal fare make up to them for the dainties that had sometimes fallen to their share, and so they became rebellious and dissatisfied, and only thought of escaping.

The parents, who had expected to be more than compensated for the loss of what their children had been able to beg, encouraged them in their discontent, and threatened to take them away from Pestalozzi in order to profit by their earnings themselves.

Yet these were children, who had arrived covered with rags and vermin, whom Pestalozzi had made clean and tidy, and with whom he shared his meals, "giving them the best potatoes, and keeping the worst for himself."

"Every Sunday," he said, "my house was filled with a set of beggarly parents, who, not finding their children's position answer to their expectations, and as if to encourage them in their discontent, treated me with such insolent high-handedness as was only possible in an establishment having neither official support nor imposing exterior."

To make matters worse, many children ran away, escaping in the night, and carrying off the Sunday clothes that Pestalozzi had given them. Soon, too, the complaints of the parents reached the ears of the supporters of the work, subscriptions fell off, and public interest in the establishment considerably lessened. Pestalozzi, however, was not discouraged, but worked on almost beyond his strength, daily adding sacrifice to sacrifice, and in ill health and misfortune faithfully supported by his noble-hearted wife. But he felt at last, though too late, the absolute necessity of calling in the help of able and experienced men to make up for his own deficiencies.

The heroic struggle was prolonged for two years, but at last, in 1780, resources and credit being alike exhausted, an enterprise, to which the husband and wife had devoted their last strength and their last shilling, had to be finally abandoned.

Of the experiment which ended thus unhappily, nobody will deny the importance, seeing that the sore it was intended to cure is still open and smarting to-day. Pestalozzi's work at Neuhof serves better than anything else, perhaps, to show the character of the man. The idea was his own, and was not only the dream of his youth, but remained throughout his life the favourite subject of his thoughts; even at eighty years of age he still had hopes of renewing the experiment, and carrying it to a successful issue.

How much good has the experiment done? Alas, very little! And yet there have been men in Switzerland who, following the principles of the master, but avoiding his mistakes, have applied his methods to the education of orphans and the regeneration of vicious children, with very considerable success.

The reader will not have forgotten the state of misery and corruption of the country district round Neuhof, when Pestalozzi opened his house to the vagrant children. When in 1869 we visited the spot, still free from railways and unknown to tourists, we found the land well cultivated, the people hard-working and comfortable, no beggars, and good schools. The immense improvement which had taken place in those ninety years proves that although Pestalozzi had failed in his practical attempt to raise the people, the influence of his ideas, and of the principle which inspired him, had not remained without result. There are some ruins whose dust is fertile.

Pestalozzi was now as poor as the beggars who had excited his pity; he had absolutely nothing left. He had acted like one who, without thinking whether his strength will suffice, plunges into the water to save a drowning man, and sinks with him. His friends, however, came to his rescue, and kept his home together for him.

We have not been able to find any trace of the arrangement which must then have been made between the ruined philanthropist and his creditors. The bare facts are that the land, with the exception of an acre or two, was let for the benefit of the creditors, but that Pestalozzi still remained the owner of Neuhof, and still lived in the house. His wife's bad health, however, rendered her incapable of attending to her household duties, and he himself, disheartened, awkward, and worn out in mind and body, was hardly able to provide the barest necessaries; indeed, before very long, they were without food, fuel, or money, and suffering from cold and want.

But while in this state of terrible distress, the sad family at Neuhof happily received the most providential help, thanks to an act of devotion that is worthy of being told in all countries and in all ages. It is once more a poor servant who sacrifices herself—this time, however, without having even been asked for help, and for people who are almost strangers.

Elizabeth Naef, of Kappel, belonged to a family that had won distinction in the religious wars, and had obtained the right of citizenship in Zurich. She had known something of Pestalozzi through having been in the service of one of his relations, and now, her master being dead, she no sooner heard of the disaster and distress at Neuhof than she hurried to the assistance of the afflicted family.

At first Pestalozzi refused her offers of help, being unwilling to involve in his own trouble a woman who, though possessing nothing, would easily find some light work elsewhere, and be sure of a comfortable, quiet life. He was afraid, too, that she would be scandalized by finding his habits in religious matters somewhat different from her own, she being accustomed to pray or sing hymns all day long, a practice with which Pestalozzi had no sympathy. But he was unable to shake Elizabeth's determination, and at last consented, saying, "Well, you will find, after all, that God is in our house too."

The devoted woman found Neuhof in the most terrible state of disorder, and lost no time in setting to work. She saw to the garden, dug up a bit of land with her own hands, everywhere restored cleanliness, order, and productivity, and in this way provided Pestalozzi and his family with the means of subsistence they lacked.

It was Elizabeth who served as the type for the character of the brave, active, clever, gentle and devoted woman in *Leonard and Gertrude.* Councillor Nicolovius, of Berlin, in an account of a visit he paid to Neuhof, in 1780, refers to her in the following terms:—

> "'I should like,' said Pestalozzi, moved by his gratitude and admiration, 'to give you some idea of this woman's quiet activity, that you may always have a picture of her in your mind. What I am going to say may perhaps seem too strong, and yet I am not ashamed to say it. God's sun pursues its path from morning to evening, yet your eye detects no movement, your ear no sound. Even when it goes down, you know that it will rise again, and continue to ripen the fruits of the earth. Extreme as it may seem, I am not ashamed to say that this is an image of Gertrude, as of every woman who makes her house a temple of the living God, and wins heaven for her husband and children.'[1]
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> "I was anxious to see the woman to whom he owed so much. As she did not appear, Pestalozzi took me to the field where she was working, and asked her a few questions, that I might have time to contemplate her. The same evening, he said, 'Knowing all she does for us, you will not be surprised to hear that she eats at our table. I hope you will not mind her doing so to-night.' But she did not come, and was so unwilling to do so that at last I went myself and begged her to come so earnestly that she could not refuse. Her whole being seemed aglow, if I may say so, with humble modesty."

Fröhlich, of Brugg, who, in his *Recollections of Pestalozzi*, also speaks of Elizabeth, tells us that the author of *Leonard and Gertrude* had so much confidence in her judgment, that he often read her passages from his writings, especially those which portrayed character, for the sake of having her opinion.

Ramsauer,[2] too, in his letter to Principal Zahn, speaks as follows:

> "I knew the housekeeper who was the original of Ger-

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[1] This passage occurs, word for word, in "Leonard and Gertrude."

[2] Ramsauer was a poor orphan, who, after having been brought up by Pestalozzi, at Burgdorf, became one of his most distinguished assistants. He was afterwards a fervent Pietist, and the tutor of the Princesses of Oldenburg.

trude very well, having lived under the same roof with her at Yverdun for eleven years. Pestalozzi said to me one day, 'I know that after my death she will be more honoured than I; indeed, if it were not so, I should turn in my grave and be unhappy in heaven; for, had it not been for her, I should have been dead long ago, and you, Ramsauer, would not have been what you are!' She was certainly a remarkable woman, though entirely without education."

In 1801, Elizabeth, after nursing poor Jacobli like her own son throughout his long illness, married Krusi, the brother of Pestalozzi's indefatigable colleague, and from 1805 filled the post of housekeeper at Yverdun, where she was a general favourite with the pupils.

The material distress from which Elizabeth had rescued Pestalozzi was not, however, the most painful result of his disaster. All hope of carrying out his generous intention seemed gone for ever. He had lost the confidence of his fellow citizens, and people, seeing him pass, exclaimed, as they shrugged their shoulders, "Poor wretch! He is less capable than the most ignorant labourer, and yet he talks of helping the people!" Even his own friends no longer believed in him; they felt, indeed, deep sorrow for him, but avoided meeting him as much as possible, finding it too painful to talk to a man whom they still loved, but whom they could neither help nor console, and who seemed doomed to end his days either in the workhouse or the madhouse.

The unfortunate man suffered still more from the thought of the misery he had brought on his wife, especially when he saw how uncomplaining she was, and how she sought to lighten his troubles by redoubling her attentions and tenderness. On one occasion, when Anna and Jacobli had prepared a surprise for him on his birthday, he cried:

"Ah, you do too much; but I am grateful to you for thinking of me. I am deeply grieved that the mistakes of my youth should have brought you to this painful position, and yet I would say, Let us not abandon the struggle we have been engaged in so long, but calmly and firmly carry it on to the end. There is a God above who smooths the difficulties of life for some, but chains others to their misery. How can we fight against the stern decrees of fate better than by remaining upright and calm amid the storms that surround us?"

Another passage that belongs to this time of misery and humiliation runs thus:

"Christ teaches us by His example and doctrine to sacrifice not only our possessions, but ourselves for the good of others, and shows us that nothing we have received is absolutely ours, but is merely entrusted to us by God to be piously employed in the service of charity."

It was thus that he acted, the noble-hearted man, and one cannot help wondering whether the Puritan theologians who attacked him for heterodoxy were better Christians than he?

It was Elizabeth who had rescued Pestalozzi and his family from destitution, but it was Iselin who now inspired him with fresh courage to pursue his work, that work which the world thought finished, but which in reality had hardly begun.

CHAPTER VI.

PESTALOZZI THE WRITER.

Iselin inspires him with new courage, and urges him to write. The "Evening Hour of a Hermit." First volume of "Leonard and Gertrude." "The Education of Children in the Home." The continuation of "Leonard and Gertrude." Relations with Leopold of Tuscany and Joseph II. of Austria. "The Sumptuary Laws." "Christopher and Eliza." "On Legislation and Infanticide." "The Swiss News." Obliged to work on his land for a living. His unpublished manuscript on "The Causes of the French Revolution." Correspondence with Nicolovius and Fellenberg; relations with Fichte. "An Inquiry into the Course of Nature in the Development of the Human Race." Merit as a writer.

The failure of the undertaking at Neuhof had not changed Pestalozzi's belief in the possibility of raising the people by education, but it had for the time deprived him of all means of putting his ideas into execution. His dejection was so great as to affect his health, and almost to endanger his life.

But although the experiment had not succeeded, Iselin still believed in the excellence of the idea which had prompted it. He accordingly came to Pestalozzi, and sought to rouse him from his despair by offering to help him bring before the public the views he had been unable to carry out.

After Iselin's death, Pestalozzi thus expressed his admiration and gratitude for his lost benefactor:

"He was a man to the end; whatever was human attracted him, and he had moreover a wonderful faculty for finding it out, wherever and under whatever mask it lay concealed. It was in this way that, at the end of his life, he discovered me, bringing me warm-hearted encouragement at a time when others shrugged their shoulders as I passed, and those who loved me could but groan at the mention of my name. It was then that this man came to me with smiles and comfort, this man who was at once my father, master, helper and deliverer."

Pestalozzi's experiments, which had now lasted five years, had taught him much; always in contact with the children of the people he wanted to save, he had seen them just as they were; by his steady work, varied experiences, and persistent efforts, he had got to the heart of the question he wanted to solve; his very errors, by bringing new light, had only strengthened him in his convictions. As he himself says:

"Even while I was the sport of men who condemned me, I never lost sight for a moment of the object I had in view, which was the removal of the causes of the misery that I saw on all sides of me. My strength, too, kept on increasing, and my own misfortunes taught me valuable truths. I knew the people as no one else did. What deceived no one else always deceived me, but what deceived everybody else deceived me no longer. . . .

"I say to-day, with deep gratitude to God, that it is my own sufferings that have enabled me to understand the sufferings of the people and their causes, as no man without suffering can understand them. I suffered what the people suffered, and saw them as no one else saw them, and, strange as it may seem, I was never more profoundly convinced of the fundamental truths on which I had based my undertaking than when I saw that I had failed!"[1]

The speedy and complete ruin of his work at Neuhof, though sad in many ways, was on the whole a good thing both for Pestalozzi and the world. For if it had been at all successful, this man, in his efforts to be a father to the fatherless, would have worn himself out in a sphere of activity which was not his true vocation, and for which he had little capacity, and education perhaps would still be awaiting its reformer.

Not being in a position to make any more practical experiments, but being very anxious to put his ideas before the public, Pestalozzi, in 1780, wrote the *Evening Hour of a Hermit*. This was his first educational work, and is by no means one of the least important, but it is very little known, and, like many others, is wanting in Cotta's edition of his writings. Published first by Iselin, in his *Ephemerides*, it was afterwards reprinted by Pestalozzi in a weekly educational paper he published, in 1807, and is to be found in Seyffarth's complete edition of his works.

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[1] Letter to Gessner, dated Burgdorf, 1801.

The *Evening Hour of a Hermit* is a collection of short, pithy aphorisms, all bearing on the same subject, and forming, as a whole, a complete statement of the author's views as to the raising of the people by education. There are a hundred and eight of them, but we shall only quote those which seem to us the most important, taking advantage of the numbers prefixed by Seyffarth, to show their relative position in the work.

EVENING HOUR OF A HERMIT.

1. "Man, whether on a throne or in a cottage, is by nature always the same; but what is he? Why do not wise men tell us? Why do not the best minds find out what their own race really is? Does the peasant use oxen without learning to understand them? Does not the shepherd concern himself with the nature of his sheep?

2. "And you who employ men, who say that you govern them, and lead them, will you not take as much pains as the peasant for his oxen, the shepherd for his sheep? Is your wisdom the knowledge of your race? Is your goodness the enlightened goodness of shepherds of the people?

3. "What man is, what he needs, what raises or degrades him, what strengthens or weakens him, that should be known alike by the leaders of the people, and by the inmates of the humblest cottage.

8. "All the pure and beneficent powers of humanity are neither the products of art nor the results of chance. They are really a natural possession of every man. Their development is a universal human need.

10. "The infant whose hunger has been satisfied learns in this way the relations between its mother and itself; love and gratitude are awakened in its heart before their names strike its ear; the son who eats his father's bread, and warms

himself at his father's hearth, acquires in this natural manner the salutary knowledge of his filial duties.

12. "Man! in thyself, in the inward consciousness of thine own strength, is the instrument intended by Nature for thy development.

21. "The path of Nature, which develops the forces of humanity, must be easy and open to all; education, which brings true wisdom and peace of mind, must be simple and within everybody's reach.

22. "Nature develops all the forces of humanity by exercising them; they increase with use.

23. "The exercise of a man's faculties and talents, to be profitable, must follow the course laid down by Nature for the education of humanity.

24. "This is why the man who, in simplicity and innocence, exercises his forces and faculties with order, calmness, and steady application, is naturally led to true human wisdom; whereas he who subverts the order of Nature, and thus breaks the due connection between the different branches of his knowledge, destroys in himself not only the true basis of knowledge, but the very need of such a basis, and becomes incapable of appreciating the advantages of truth.

25. "Thou who wouldst be a father to thy child, do not expect too much of him till his mind has been strengthened by practice in the things he can understand; and beware of harshness and constraint.

26. "When men are anxious to go too fast, and are not satisfied with Nature's method of development, they imperil their inward strength, and destroy the harmony and peace of their souls.

27. "When men rush into the labyrinth of words, formulas, and opinions, without having gained a progressive knowledge of the realities of life, their minds must develop on this one basis, and can have no other source of strength.

28. "The schools hastily substitute an artificial method of words for the truer method of Nature, which knows no hurry, and is content to wait. In this way a specious form of development is produced, hiding the want of real inward strength, but satisfying times like our own.

36. "Man! if thou seekest the truth in this natural order, thou wilt find it as thou hast need of it for thy position and for the career which is opening before thee.

40. "The pure sentiment of truth and wisdom is formed in the narrow circle of our personal relations, the circumstances which suggest our actions, and the powers we need to develop.

49. "The performance of acts which are contrary to our inward sense of right takes from us the power of recognising truth, and our principles and impressions lose in nobleness, simplicity, and purity.

50. "And thus all human wisdom rests on the strength of a heart that follows truth, and all human happiness on this feeling of simplicity and innocence.

60. "A man's domestic relations are the first and most important of his nature.

61. "A man works at his calling, and bears his share of the public burdens, that he may have undisturbed enjoyment of his home.

62. "Thus the education which fits a man for his profession and position in the State must be made subordinate to that which is necessary for his domestic happiness.

63. "The home is the true basis of the education of humanity.

64. "It is the home that gives the best moral training, whether for private or public life.

70. "A man's greatest need is the knowledge of God.

71. "The purest pleasures of his home do not always satisfy him.

72. "His weak, impressionable nature is powerless without God to endure constraint, suffering, and death.

94. "God is the Father of humanity, and His children are immortal.

135. "Sin is both the cause and effect of want of faith, and is an act opposed to what a man's inmost sense of good and evil tells him to be right.

168. "It is because humanity believes in God that I am contented in my humble dwelling.

175. "I base all liberty on justice, but I see no certainty of justice in the world so long as men are wanting in uprightness, piety, and love.

178. "The source of justice and of every other blessing in the world, the source of all brotherly love amongst men, lies in the great conception of religion that we are the children of God.

180. "That Man of God who, by His sufferings and death, restored to men the sense that God is their Father, is indeed the Saviour of the world. His teaching is justice itself, a simple philosophy of practical value for all, the revelation of God the Father to his erring children."

The *Evening Hour* does not seem to have aroused much attention; indeed, the great majority of people were incapable of appreciating its real merit. It was a more popular book, and one written in an easier and more agreeable style, that first gave Pestalozzi a literary reputation, and drew him out of his retirement.

About this time the Zurich Council, anxious to put things on a more modern footing, had drawn up certain regulations concerning the dress of the officials who maintained order in the town. To Pestalozzi, who was always strongly attached to old-fashioned simplicity, the change thus introduced seemed most ridiculous, and one day, in a humorous vein, he wrote a satire on the plan for "changing crooked, dirty, and unkempt guards into erect, clean, and tidy ones." He sent the paper to Zurich, to his friend Füssli the bookseller, whose brother the painter, happening to see it one day, was so struck by it that, after reading and re-reading it, he exclaimed, "To a man who can write like this, his pen is a fortune in itself!" This opinion, confirmed by other competent judges, gave great delight to Füssli, who repeated it to Pestalozzi, at the same time urging him to write. The solitary of Neuhof was little inclined to take the advice, believing himself quite incapable of ever succeeding as an author.

"For ten years," he said, "I have read nothing, and lived only with ignorant people. I could hardly write a sentence without a mistake." But at last he allowed himself to be persuaded. "I would even have made periwigs," he said afterwards, "to get bread for my wife and child."

He accordingly set to work to read Marmontel's *Moral Tales*, and had made as many as seven successive attempts to imitate this style of composition, without being at all satisfied with his work, when suddenly the idea occurred to him to draw a picture of the peasants he knew so well. He would faithfully paint their vices and their poverty, but he would also faithfully paint the elements of moral and physical regeneration that, in spite of all their degradation, they still retained, and in this way he would still be working towards his favourite end.

This sudden conception was the saving of his work. From this time he wrote without trouble and without stopping, without even preparing a plan beforehand, and *Leonard and Gertrude* flowed from his pen in one unbroken stream. Too poor to buy paper, he wrote between the lines in an old account book, and in a few weeks the book was completed.

He then asked a friend to read it. The friend did so, and pronounced it interesting, but horribly incorrect, and "wanting in literary style." As he further offered to correct it for him, Pestalozzi gratefully accepted the offer; but when his MS. was returned, it was little more than a string of high-sounding phrases, the peasants talking like pedants, and all the truth and naturalness having disappeared.

Pestalozzi naturally could not consent to publish the work thus disfigured, and in his embarrassment was on the point of giving up all idea of doing so, when another of his friends came to his rescue. This was Iselin, of Basle, who, understanding the real value and bearing of the manuscript, prepared it for the press by correcting the mistakes, and persuaded Decker, a bookseller in Berlin, to undertake its publication. The price Decker paid Pestalozzi was rather less than a shilling a page.

Leonard and Gertrude appeared in 1781; it was the first of the four volumes which afterwards formed the complete work. It had an immediate and immense success; most of the papers praised it, and extracts were inserted in many almanacs. The Agricultural Society at Berne addressed a letter of congratulation to the author, with a gift of fifty florins, and a gold medal of the same value. On the medal was a crown of oak, with the words: *Civi optimo.*

Though Pestalozzi was now visited and made much of by numbers of distinguished people, he retained all his simple-mindedness. It is even said that one day, having been invited out to dinner, and his host having sent his carriage for him, he made the footman sit in the carriage beside him. Charles de Bonstetten pressed him to come to his country-house to stay, and several other influential people made similar overtures to him, but he refused to leave Neuhof.

Leonard and Gertrude is but a simple story, though graphic and touching, of that village life which Pestalozzi knew so well. Leonard is an honest fellow, full of good intentions, but fond of drink. At one time his love for his wife and children, whose ruin he is causing, induces him to make the best resolutions; at another, the influence of bad companions drags him into evil again. Gertrude, his wife, is an excellent mother, gentle, hard-working, and sensible. By dint of hard work, patience, and perseverance, she saves her family by saving her husband. The bailiff, Hummel, who is also the village innkeeper, is a cunning, unscrupulous man. He takes advantage of his position to get foolish men to his house to drink and run into debt, and then hastens their ruin, that he may grow rich on the spoil. Arner, the new squire, is a man of noble ideas, and a generous heart; it is he who supports Gertrude in her trouble, and baffles the plans of the bailiff.

In *Leonard and Gertrude* the characters are so admirably drawn that, after having read the book, we seem to know all the personages as well as if we had lived with them. That, however, is not its chief merit. In Pestalozzi's view, this story was only another way of popularizing his ideas, by showing how education can raise the people and make them happy. Into Gertrude's mouth he puts his views as to the method in which children should be taught and made to take part in the work of the home, and he uses Arner to prove how much can be done by a kind and enlightened administration towards helping and improving the moral condition of the poor. But the story is so life-like that the intention to teach never appears.

It is not surprising, then, that the public read it simply as a healthy and interesting novel. Their very praise showed Pestalozzi that he had not yet attained his end. He accordingly wrote another book, intended to show the use that might be made of *Leonard and Gertrude* in the education of children, and to bring out more clearly the lessons it contained. Its title was: *The Instruction of Children in the Home.* This book was never printed, either because Pestalozzi was not satisfied with it, or because he foresaw that it would be very little read. Niederer, however, who at one time had the MS. in his possession, afterwards published a part of it in his *Notes on Pestalozzi.* The first chapter runs as follows:

CHAPTER I.—*A man whose heart is good, and who yet makes his wife and children very unhappy.*

There is one woman in Bonal who brings up her children better than all the others. Her name is Gertrude (1); her husband, who is a mason (2), is called Leonard (3). They have (4) seven children, who (5) work from morning till evening, and are obedient, good-tempered, clean, careful, and fond of each other. The father's failing (6) is that he often allows himself to be enticed to the inn, where he sometimes acts (7) like a madman.

(8) The village where this family has the misfortune to live has been so demoralized for more than thirty years, that (9) most of the present inhabitants care neither for law nor gospel.

The fault is really (10) due to the late squire, who died a few weeks ago. This (11) man took less interest in his people than (12) in his dogs and game, with the result that (13) there is nothing but misery in his villages, and that they are filled with men who suck the very heart's blood of the people. The worst of these blood-suckers (14) is Hummel, the bailiff of Bonal. His house is full every day (15) of cunning scoundrels, whose sole occupation and amusement it is to lay snares for simple, honest folk, and rob them of their money. They know the good-natured Leonard (16), whom they encourage to drink and gamble, and so deprive him almost daily of the fruit of his toil (17). But he always repents bitterly the next morning, and (18) his heart bleeds when he sees Gertrude and her children without bread (19). He dares not look Gertrude in the face; his eyes fill when he takes one of his children in his arms, and he often weeps bitter tears in secret.

Gertrude is the best wife in the village, but (20) as Leonard cannot resist the seductions of the inn, she and her children (21) are in danger of losing father and cottage, of being separated, and of falling into the direst poverty.

(22) Gertrude sees the extent of the danger, and is sore troubled by it. She cannot forget it for a moment, and when bringing grass from the meadow, or hay from the barn, or when filling her spotless pails with milk, she has always present with her the same terrible thought (23) that meadow, barn, cow, nay, her very cottage may soon no longer be hers.

When (24) her children surround her and nestle to her bosom, her trouble is still greater, and often (25) when her precious little ones are folding their innocent hands in prayer to the Father in heaven, her heart is rent with anguish.

(26) Hitherto, however, she had succeeded in hiding from her children her silent tears, but (27) when, on the Wednesday before Easter, her husband was even later than usual in coming home, she could not restrain her grief. The children noticed her tears, and cried with one accord (28), "Oh, mother, you are crying!" (29) With grief on their faces they clung about her, sobbing aloud in their terror. For the first time the very baby looked into his mother's eyes without smiling, for he saw in them nothing but despair. (30) Gertrude, feeling that her heart must break, burst out into loud sobs, the children weeping with her. (31) At this moment the mason opened the door unperceived, for (32) Gertrude had hidden her face in the bed. (33) The children did not notice him either; they had no eyes for anything but their mother's grief, and clung about her in helpless wonder. And thus their father found them.

(34) God in heaven sees the tears of the afflicted, and puts an end to men's sorrows, and (35) it was this goodness of God that now made Leonard a witness of this most painful scene. (36) As, pale and trembling, he stammered a few broken words, the mother and children became aware of his presence. (37) The children's sobs at once ceased. "Mother, mother," they cried, "here's father come home!" It is thus that when a wild flood or devouring fire ceases its ravages, the first terror subsides, and is succeeded by a dumb, calm sorrow.

QUESTIONS.

(1) What is the name of the woman in Bonal who brings up her children better than all the rest? (2) What is her husband's name? (3) What is he? (4) How many children has he? (5) How do the children behave? (6) What is the father's failing? (7) How does he often act when he is at the inn? (8) What is the state of the village? (9) What is the result of this demoralization? (10) Whose fault is it chiefly? (11) Why is it his fault? (12) What did he consider more than his people? etc., etc.

INSTRUCTIVE TRUTHS.

1. Children who are well brought up are obedient, good-tempered, clean, tidy, and affectionate.
2. In the ale-house men sometimes act like madmen.
3. It is the same with towns and villages as with individuals: demoralization ends in unhappiness.
4. Demoralized men respect neither law nor gospel.
5. The more demoralized a country is, the more is it infested by clever scoundrels whose only occupation and livelihood consists in cheating honest, simple folk out of their money.
6. He who thinks less of his inferiors than of his dogs or preserves, is the cause of much evil in the world, and incurs a grave responsibility.
7. There is a certain kind of repentance which has no reality, and is without effect on men's actions.
8. A bad conscience deprives men of the power of helping themselves.
9. A bad father brings a thousand troubles on his wife and children.
10. When children are good and thoughtful, kind and God-fearing, their troubles cause their parents double pain.
11. God who is in heaven puts an end to man's distress.

Such was the beginning of the great work by which Pestaozzi hoped to show the public that *Leonard and Gertrude* was not merely a tale, but a popular manual of education for every age.

The author, however, gave up the idea of publishing it, and we cannot help thinking that he was right. But he was anxious to continue the story he had begun with so much success, and in 1783 a second volume of *Leonard and Gertrude* appeared, in 1785, a third, and in 1787, a fourth.

The fourth volume was dedicated to Felix Battier, a merchant in Basle, by whose help he had been able to continue at Neuhof, after the failure of his first experiments. In this dedication, dated the 1st April, 1787, Pestalozzi expresses himself as follows:

"My friend! you found me a bruised plant by the wayside, and you preserved me from being trodden under foot. Read these pages, and accept my thanks, for my most important views would never have ripened without your help. The burden of my experiences is still heavy upon me. I still have the picture of my work before me, but only as in a dream. As long as I breathe I shall keep my end steadily in view, and shall only be happy in so far as I succeed in realizing the ideas which inspired my first undertakings."

The four-volume work contains a complete account of the regeneration of the village of Bonal, the result of the combined effects of law, religion, education, and a careful administration. Pestalozzi called it, *Leonard and Gertrude: a Book for the People*, but "the people" took very little notice of it. The numerous readers of the first volume had enjoyed it simply as a novel, without in the least caring for the lessons it contained. The three other volumes, in which the action is less sustained and less dramatic, and in which educational, economical, and social questions occupy a very large place, had much less success. They had no interest for any but the most thoughtful people, and even thoughtful people found parts of them beyond their comprehension, so far was their author ahead of his time. The reforms he advocated were then felt to be entirely impracticable, and yet most of the great economical and moral improvements of which Switzerland is proud to-day were suggested by Pestalozzi in this book.

We find, for instance, the abolition of commonage, the division of unproductive parish-land, only requiring the care of an owner to become a source of wealth, the redemption of tithes, the institution of savings-banks, the organization of reformatory schools, the abolition of hanging, and, lastly, the establishment of good primary schools, caring no less for moral than material needs. But for some of these reforms Switzerland had to wait thirty years after the publication of *Leonard and Gertrude*, for others sixty, for others eighty.

Count Zinzendorf, the Austrian Minister of Finance, had vainly endeavoured to induce Pestalozzi to go to Vienna. On the 26th of April, 1784, after receiving the continuation of *Leonard and Gertrude*, he wrote to him as follows:

"Your plans and efforts for the education of the poor, and the reform of vicious children, and more particularly whatever you think necessary for the instruction of the people, and whatever you think should form the object of legislative measures, will have a great importance in my eyes, and I shall receive with the greatest pleasure everything you write on this subject."

And, again, on the 19th December, 1787, he writes:

"I have read the fourth volume twice. From page 164 it is of the deepest interest, and develops views of great importance for all legislation affecting the masses. To carry out your ideas, the first thing to do would be to attempt to get Arner's views shared by the whole of the nobility, who are almost the only owners of property, that they might have both the inclination and courage to bring their children up in his spirit side by side with the country children, and be content to live on their estates."

In his reply of the 18th January, 1788, Pestalozzi says:

"A few statesmen and magistrates have indeed praised the fourth volume, but the mass of readers have found it very uninteresting from page 164. . . .

"Education being the centre from which everything should start, the State should consider this the most important part of its work, and make everything else subordinate to it. If this matter is properly attended to, the private interests of sovereigns will be the more easily looked after, and the relations between the local and central authorities will be all the more satisfactory.

"Let us hope that those who are the leaders of humanity will soon arrive at the conviction that human progress and improvement is their chief, nay, their only concern. For my part, I am certain that sooner or later the difficulties in the way of such an education of the people as I desire will vanish, and that princes themselves will be the first to encourage it, and lend their assistance to those who are the most capable of directing it aright."[1]

We have lately re-read the four volumes of *Leonard and Gertrude*, after a long interval, and have been much struck by the richness, truth, and variety of the views which have been lying hidden there for ninety years. In the strength of Pestalozzi's convictions and in his deep sympathy with misfortune in any shape, lies the secret of the eloquence and real pathos of his writings. It may be said that his intellect borrows its breadth and sagacity from his heart, for it is his heart that fills him with such intelligent sympathy for the suffering, the weak, and needy.

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[1] We have borrowed these extracts from Pompée's interesting work, "Studies of the Life and Works of J. H. Pestalozzi." Paris, 1850.

It is worthy of notice that in this picture of the vices of a degraded people, complete as it is in other respects, Pestalozzi makes no mention of impurity. He is as silent about libertinism, and everything connected with it, as if his countrymen had been all saints, and nowhere will a single word be found which might not be read by anybody.

In the first volume a few lines have been replaced by dots, and the author explains in a note that this passage was suppressed because a child of ten on hearing it read aloud exclaimed that it was "very rude."

A French translation of the first volume of *Leonard and Gertrude*, by the Baroness de Guimps, was published at Geneva by J. J. Paschoud, in 1826, and a new edition was brought out a few years ago. It is much to be regretted that the three last volumes have not yet been translated.

Cotta's edition of the complete works published towards the end of Pestalozzi's life does not include the whole of the fourth volume of the first edition of *Leonard and Gertrude*, the reason being that the author wanted to revise the last part of it, make certain additions, and write a sixth part, an intention he did not live to carry out. In the recent edition published by Seyffarth, *Leonard and Gertrude* is in five parts, but the fifth part is merely a reproduction of the fourth volume, which appeared in 1787.

Whilst Pestalozzi was working at *Leonard and Gertrude*, he wrote four other works, which were published from 1781 to 1783, and of which we have not yet spoken, because we were unwilling to interrupt what we had to say about the book which made his literary reputation.

In 1779 a Society in Basle had offered a prize for the best essay on the following subject: *How far is it advisable to set a limit to personal expense in a small free state where commerce is the foundation of prosperity?* Twenty-eight essays were sent in, and the judges divided the prize between a professor, named Meister, and Pestalozzi, who were both from Zurich, and were old schoolfellows. In 1781, Pestalozzi's essay, with two others, was published in pamphlet form by the Society that had given the prize.

In this paper Pestalozzi pronounces an absolute condemnation of sumptuary laws in general, for reasons which we need hardly reproduce, seeing that this question has long been settled, and has little interest for us to-day. At the same time he pleads forcibly for liberty in commerce and industry. He also deplores the increase of luxury, and suggests means by which it may be stopped. These means must be purely educational, for coercion, prohibition, and regulation could only do harm. In this way the question which had been proposed, and which at first sight seemed entirely foreign to Pestalozzi's work, brings him back to his favourite theme of education.

He would have education fill both heart and mind with such high aspirations that men should no longer be capable of finding pleasure in the refinements of material life. He would have the rich love the poor so well as to hesitate to flaunt before them pleasures which are not within their reach. He would have rulers and public bodies cease to set the example of ostentatious and useless expense.

The foregoing is but a poor summary of the chief ideas which make this essay, written before the second volume of *Leonard and Gertrude*, still interesting to us.

In 1782 Pestalozzi published *Christopher and Eliza; My Second Book for the People.* But this title deceived the public. They expected to find another story as graphic and interesting as the volume of *Leonard and Gertrude* that they had just read, whereas the new work was nothing but a commentary on the earlier one.

The aim of the author was to bring out and develop the lessons contained in the first volume, lessons which his readers had missed. He had chosen the form of a dialogue between Christopher and Eliza, a husband and wife who read a chapter of *Leonard and Gertrude* every evening in the presence of their son Fritz and their old servant Joost. In this way Pestalozzi directs attention to a number of important considerations, all bearing on the morals, comfort and happiness of the people.

But the reading of this book requires a more sustained mental effort than most people are capable of, and even many who might have profited by it, but who began to read merely for the sake of amusement, soon abandoned the attempt.

Pestalozzi here made the same mistake that he often made, a mistake, indeed, which on more than one occasion proved fatal to his attempts to propagate his doctrine. The truths which he himself held, as it were, intuitively, seemed so simple and self-evident, that he could not understand how other minds could fail to grasp them, and never doubted that he would be able to spread them by writing popular books.

Christopher and Eliza did not succeed because both aim and form were bad. In matter, indeed, it was perhaps better than *Leonard and Gertrude*, being richer in important views on education and other social questions, many of which views are still of value to-day. But it was probably Pestalozzi's opinions in matters of this sort that hindered the success of his book amongst educated people, for such opinions must at that time have been very offensive to the upper classes. He points out, for instance, that the corruption of those who are ruled generally results from the corruption of their rulers, and that the vices of the poor are too often caused by the vices of the rich, ideas, we think, which no one would dare to condemn to-day so absolutely as was done ninety years ago.

It was after having failed to reach his end with *Christopher and Eliza* that Pestalozzi wrote the continuation of *Leonard and Gertrude.*

We must here mention a publication of Pestalozzi's on a question which had occupied his thoughts ever since he was quite a young man. He was still a law student in Zurich when two young girls of the Canton of Vaud were condemned to death for infanticide. The trial made a great stir throughout Switzerland, and Pestalozzi was both pained and indignant. At first he refused to believe in the possibility of such a crime against nature, but when upon inquiry he found that infanticide was not only possible, but frequent, he set himself to ascertain the causes which in civilized and Christian Europe led young women to commit crimes so monstrous as to be unheard of even amongst savage nations.

Accordingly, in 1780, after a long study of the question, he wrote a pamphlet, entitled, *On Legislation and Infanti-*

cide ; Facts and Fancies, Investigations and Portraits. The preface of the first edition, which was published in Frankfort and Leipsic in 1783, concludes thus :

"I have considered this subject for many years, and I am convinced that my view is the right one. But I know two things: in the first place, that I am weak and cannot see far ; and, in the second, that truth, as men see it, is never entirely free from error, and that no road goes quite straight to its mark. And so I earnestly hope that what is false in my opinions, as well as what is true, may be made perfectly clear."

The title of this work is misleading, since the author only speaks of legislation to show the harm it has done, and its powerlessness to prevent immorality and the crimes to which immorality leads. He declares in a note that his object is to give an answer to the question : What are the best means for preventing infanticide ? In his opinion these means are purely educational, educational that is in the widest sense, and he would have parents, teachers, clergymen, and magistrates lose no opportunity of using their influence to reform the manners, opinions, and conduct of people of all ages. The work is divided as follows :

1. Introduction.
2. General causes of infanticide, resulting from legislation and social relations.
3. Examination of special causes. Eight cases.
4. Results of this examination, corroborated by quotations from official records of trials for infanticide.
5. Means for prevention.

We shall soon have occasion to return to this work, for in the interval which elapsed between its composition in 1780, and its publication in 1783, much of it was printed in the pages of the *Swiss News*, a periodical started by Pestalozzi about this time, and of which we must now give some account.

At this period of his life, when no practical undertaking was any longer possible to him, Pestalozzi was indefatigably active with his pen, and always in the direction of his one great object, the improvement of the condition of the people by education. Eager to seize every opportunity of reaching his end, he was often working at several different subjects at the same time, and as what was written first was not always published first, it is sometimes hard to determine the exact chronological order of his works.

As the best means for making his views more widely known, Iselin had advised him to publish a newspaper. Accordingly, on the 3rd of January, 1782, there appeared a paper, consisting of sixteen duodecimo pages, with the title, the *Swiss News*. This paper continued to appear every Thursday till the end of the year, and the whole of it forms two volumes, which are very rare and very little known.

The contents are of a most varied nature, including, amongst other things, short moral stories, dialogues, fables, and verse. But the variety is more apparent than real, for the author's favourite ideas are always recognizable, no matter what their dress. The farther he gets, the more clearly does he explain his plans of reform, so that the interest of his paper is continually increasing.

As early as the second number there is a fragment of the essay on infanticide, which, together with his other writings, attracted the attention of the most distinguished princes of the time. The Emperor Joseph II., for instance, and the Grand Duke Leopold of Tuscany, both endeavoured to apply Pestalozzi's views to the improvement of the condition of their subjects, and particularly to the reform of penal legislation and of prison discipline, and with this object instructed their ministers to communicate with the author of *Leonard and Gertrude*.

Numbers 19 to 24 of the *Swiss News* contain a scheme for a penitentiary system so complete in every detail, that it might have been drawn up in the middle of the present century, and indeed might still be consulted with profit. The author supposes that a prince, whom he does not hesitate to call Duke Leopold, has consulted Arner (the lord of Bonal in *Leonard and Gertrude*), as to the best system of State prisons. Pestalozzi first gives the Duke's letter, and then Arner's reply, which is doubtless the same as that he made to the Grand Duke at the request of his Minister.

Unfortunately for the Grand Duchy, Leopold was soon called to replace Joseph II. on the throne of Austria, but he had already done an immense amount of good, and there is every reason for thinking that the influence of Pestalozzi's ideas may be traced in the admirable institutions which for a long time placed Tuscany in the vanguard of civilization, and thanks to which the plains of the Arno are still cultivated by the flower of the Italian peasantry.

But it is education that occupies the chief place in the *Swiss News.* In very many things Pestalozzi still shows himself to be a disciple of Rousseau, though his popular and practical spirit, and the weight he attaches to moral and religious development already separate him widely from the Genevan philosopher. The quotations that follow will be a sufficient proof of this:

Volume ii., page 11. "Everything that raises humanity to purer pleasures is of use to man, who is certainly destined to develop all the powers which have been given him, and thus to rise to the height of whatever circumstances can favour and utilize this development."

Page 24. "In this state of things, rulers and teachers have only to guide the progress of the knowledge and pleasures of the century with all the power and wisdom they possess, in order that the people may lose nothing that is still good, may thoroughly understand their duty, and gladly do whatever enables them to live."

Page 157. "Why, oh men, do you serve God, if it is not to sanctify yourselves and free yourselves from sin, to which you are the more inclined the less you fear God and the less you serve Him. The service that you render to God preserves you from your greatest dangers. It is thus a service that you render to yourselves, and is only true in so far as it is useful."

Page 158. "Your God and Saviour seeks to lead you by victory over your passions to a wise knowledge of life, and by a wise knowledge of life to the worship of the invisible."

Page 159. "Love is the only real worship that man can offer to God, and the only source of real faith. Love alone leads man to life; without it the earth holds nothing but death and perdition. The man without love is without hope. He who is a slave to envy, hatred, and anger, falls into despair. A man's best powers forsake him if he love not his brother, and he cannot love his brother if he have no reverence for God. And thus the forgetfulness of God is a cause of weakness and death."

Page 167. "Oh, my country, may you be enabled to recognize that it is the domestic virtues which determine the happiness of a nation."

Page 171. "On the throne and in the cottage man has an equal need of religion, and becomes the most wretched being on the earth if he forget God."

Page 173. "See what a mortal man is without God; he has nothing on earth because he hopes for nothing in heaven; whereas he who fears God has everything on earth because he hopes for everything in heaven."

Page 209. "The child at his mother's breast is the weakest and most dependent of human creatures, and yet he is already receiving the first moral impressions of love and gratitude."

Page 211. "Morality is nothing but a result of the development in the child of these first sentiments of love and gratitude.

"The first development of the child's powers should come from his participation in the work of his home, for this work is necessarily what the parents understand best, what most absorbs their attention, and what they are most competent to teach.

"But even if this were not so, work undertaken to supply real needs would be just as truly the surest foundation of a good education.

"To engage the attention of the child, to exercise his judgment, to open his heart to noble sentiments, is, I think, the chief end of education; and how can this end be reached so surely as by training the child as early as possible in the various daily duties of domestic life?

"Nothing makes a greater call on the attention than work in general, because without close attention no work can be well done; but this is especially true of work which children can do in a house, for it varies continually, and in a thousand ways, and compels them to fix their attention on a great number of different objects.

"Further, it is by doing all sorts of work at an early age that a man acquires a sound judgment; for if his work is to succeed, the different circumstances under which it has to be done must be thoroughly understood; nor can the child help being struck by the fact that failure results from errors in judgment.

"Finally, work is also the best means of ennobling the heart of man, and of preparing him for all the domestic and social virtues. For, to teach a child obedience, unselfishness, and patience, I do not think anything can be better than work in which he engages regularly with the rest of the family.

"As a general rule, art and books would not replace it in any way. The best story, the most touching picture the child finds in a book, is but a sort of dream for him, something unreal, and in a sense untrue; whereas what takes place before his eyes, in his own house, is associated with a thousand similar occurrences, with all his own experience as well as that of his parents and neighbours, and brings him without fail to a true knowledge of men, and develops in him a thoroughly observant mind."

We must now quote a passage from the *Swiss News*, in which we find the first trace of a thought that became the fundamental principle of Pestalozzi's method of education, the analogy, that is, between the development of the moral and intellectual man, and the physical development of the plant; in other words, the organism of education.

In volume i., page 407, we read:

"Summer evening! Who can describe thee, when thou comest at last, after a day of oppressive heat? Everything that breathes rejoices in thy freshness; everything that breathes has need of thee. The roe leaves his hiding-place in the forest to graze and breathe more freely in the open. The flocks, too, gambol with enjoyment in the cool pastures, and man, weary with the heat of the day, lies down till the sun return.

"Summer day! Teach this worm that crawls on the earth that the fruits of life are formed amid the heat and storms of our globe, but that to ripen, they have need of the gentle rains, the glittering dew, and the refreshing rest of night. Teach me, summer day, that man, formed from the dust of the earth, grows and ripens like the plant rooted in the soil."

One more quotation from the *Swiss News* and we have done. In a few lines towards the end of the introduction, Pestalozzi paints one of the most touching and original features of his own character. He had been reproached with being still somewhat of a child, and he replies:

> "I hope to remain so to the grave; it is so pleasant to be still a child, to believe, to trust, to love, to be sorry for your mistakes and folly, to be better and simpler than knaves and rogues, and at last, by their very wickedness, wiser. It is pleasant to think nothing but good of men, in spite of all you see and hear, to still believe in the human heart, even though you may be deceived every day, and to forgive the wise as well as the foolish of this world, when each, in his own way, would lead you astray."

The two volumes of the *Swiss News* are certainly one of the most remarkable productions of Pestalozzi's genius; the richness, originality, and independence of his thought, free as yet from all foreign influence, are there displayed in all their fulness.

We have said that the paper was chiefly concerned with education. At first sight this does not seem true, but the fact is that the author is considering the broad question of the general education of humanity in its relation to manners and customs, social systems and governments, and hence politics occupy a large share of his attention.

But Pestalozzi was asking for reforms, and reforms were distasteful to the educated portion of his readers. Amongst other things, he advocated the abolition of capital punishment, a measure which, thanks to the Grand Duke Leopold, had already had good results in Tuscany, but for which Switzerland perhaps was not yet ready. However this may have been, subscribers began to fall off, and at the end of the first year the paper had to be discontinued.

With the fourth volume of *Leonard and Gertrude*, published in 1787, closes the first series of Pestalozzi's writings. Ten years of silence are about to follow, in the course of which the great French Revolution will be accomplished, giving a new phase to the literary activity of the philosopher of education. Let us pause, then, a moment, and examine the position he had now reached.

The starting-point of his work had been his pity for the poor. He had seen that the evil cannot be cured either by charity, legislation or preaching. Education seemed to him the only effective remedy, but he saw that an education was wanted which, based upon the child's daily life, should set in action all the powers for good contained in germ in his nature, and keep him continually employed. This is why he wished to combine instruction with manual labour, feeling that such a combination, if made living and attractive, would be not only a means of livelihood, but a strengthening and salutary exercise for heart, mind, and body.

Having failed in his attempt to give the world a practical example of this method of regeneration, he tried to make it known by his writings, and explained it in such a way as to make it clear, he thought, to everybody, and capable of being carried out in every village and every family. But then various obstacles occurred to him: first, the mechanical methods of education and religion, then custom and prejudice, and various other hindrances which were more or less connected with the social and political system of his time. It is these last obstacles that he is attacking every time he touches on politics.

As for the mechanical methods of education which were generally in use at that time, they disgusted the child with work, filled his head with nothing but words, and left him incapable of doing anything without help. Pestalozzi's object was to find a simple, natural, efficacious system to replace them. The search for such a system had already occupied him a long time. It became more and more the chief work of his life, and finally ended in the reform which has immortalized his name.

At the time of which we speak, he had already recognized several very important principles of his method. For instance, the true starting-point is in personal impressions, whether physical or moral. Words, rules, and regulations should not come till afterwards. Hence, practice in talking before reading. For the child, religious impressions, prayers, reading of the Bible, but no catechism, no dogmatic teaching. His tendency to compare the education of the child to the development of the plant was already visible, and this comparison, which is profoundly true, implies the idea of organic development not only in the physical man, but in the intellectual and moral man. And this idea is just what distinguishes Pestalozzi from those who preceded him; the old school professed to build up upon a child a complete structure of knowledge and morality; the new contents itself with merely giving the necessary support, direction, and means of activity to the child's faculties, which, left to develop by themselves, will produce a perfect man.

After 1787, Pestalozzi remained ten years without publishing anything. The chief reason of this silence was the necessity for providing food for his family, for, notwithstanding the success of his first book, his writing did not enable him to live. In the first place, he was writing for an idea, and not for the public taste; and, in the second, if a man is to make money, even as a writer, he must possess a certain commercial aptitude, which, as we know, Pestalozzi was entirely without. Lavater was perfectly right when he said to Mrs. Pestalozzi: "If I were a prince, I would consult your husband on everything connected with the improvement and happiness of my people, but I would not entrust him with a single farthing to spend." Indeed, after publishing all the books we have mentioned, Pestalozzi was just as poor as ever. He had, however, recovered his health and strength, and now, for the sake of his wife and child, he set to work again on his land, with his wonted energy and enthusiasm. But his attention was soon diverted by the French Revolution which had just burst upon the world, and which he was inclined at first to consider a fortunate circumstance, and likely to remove many an obstacle to the reforms he was meditating. A short essay on the causes of the Revolution which he wrote at this time remained unpublished till 1872, when it was discovered by Seyffarth and printed at the end of the sixteenth and last volume of his edition of Pestalozzi's works. Pestalozzi had given the manuscript to Mrs. Niederer, who, at her husband's death, had given it to Krusi, whose son, Doctor G. Krusi, entrusted it to Seyffarth. Mrs. Niederer herself had originally intended to publish it, and in 1846 had written an introduction, in the course of which occurs the following striking passage:

> "Pestalozzi, the enthusiast and prophet, whose whole long and troubled life was spent in the cause of education, once said to me:
>
> "'In another fifty years, when these times have passed away and a new generation has taken our place, when Europe

has been so undermined by a repetition of the same mistakes, and by the terrible consequences of the ever-increasing misery of the people, that the very foundations of society are shaken, then perhaps will the lesson of my life at last be understood, then will the wisest come to see that it is only by ennobling men that an end can be put to the discontent and suffering of the people, and to the abuses of despotism, whether on the part of the many or the few.'

"For twenty years now the earth has covered the mortal remains of this remarkable man, and more than half a century has elapsed since he wrote down his inmost convictions in this essay.

"If he did not publish it in his lifetime, it must undoubtedly have been because there was then some danger in speaking thus openly, and because he was unwilling to imperil in the least degree the educational work to which he was devoting his life."

An analysis of the *Causes of the French Revolution* would take us too far. Pestalozzi's own words, as quoted by Mrs. Niederer, must suffice to show the aim and importance of this short work.

But although Pestalozzi was attracted to the Revolution at the outset, he was soon shocked by the wild crimes perpetrated in France in the name of the principles of 1789. In his youth he had thrown himself into the local reforms at Zurich with all the ardour of a revolutionary, but now his horror of violent revolutions was no less great than his enthusiasm for peaceful progress. He thus found himself in rather a false position between the opponents and friends of the Revolution, so he merely looked on in silence, and devoted all his energy to the cultivation of his land.

During this long period Pestalozzi only left Neuhof twice. In 1792 he went to Leipsic to see his sister married, and turned the occasion to advantage by visiting several German Training Schools, with which, however, he was not at all satisfied. It was at this time also that he made the acquaintance of Klopstock, Goethe, Wieland, Herder, and Jacobi. About a year later he passed a few months at Richterswyl with his mother's brother, Doctor Hotz, from whose house he addressed to his friend Nicolovius, of Berlin, the letter which has so often been quoted to prove that he was not a Christian.

This friend of the poor and destitute, who had ruined himself at Neuhof in his attempt to come to their rescue, found in Nicolovius a man who, being in thorough sympathy with his views, and warmly attached to the cause that he himself had so vainly sought to help, seemed likely to render him valuable assistance. The two men thus became great friends, Pestalozzi telling the other all that was in his heart.

We translate the whole of Pestalozzi's letter, as much of it, that is, as has ever been published. It will be seen that in his simple-mindedness and extreme conscientiousness he judges himself with unnecessary severity. This, however, is not the only occasion on which he did himself a similar injustice.

"*Richterswyl, October* 1*st*, 1793.

"My friend! Lost in the torrent of my life, I have drunk but little at those pure sources whence the wisest and best men draw such Divine strength when they make the sanctification of their being the first concern of their lives. My work, alas! is all sullied by love of self and vulgar desires.

"It is true that from my youth up I have always been eager and zealous for all that is good, but the mire of the world through which I had to make my way had another law that I knew not, and for which I was unprepared, so that at the critical moment of my maturity I was laden beyond my strength, unsettled and thrown out of harmony with myself. And so I followed the dead path of my century, wavering between my feeling, which led me to religion, and my judgment, which kept me away, and letting my heart's religious ardour cool, without, however, deciding against religion.

"In the matter of God's relations with man, I like neither the poor wisdom of books, nor the observation of angles by which Lavater sought to supplement it. Truth, indeed, lay hidden within husks which repelled me, and as I did not find that it brought men any certain comfort or satisfaction, I gradually lost the essential strength that the fear of God lends to calm and noble souls. And so, feeling that I was lacking in all that most purifies our human powers, the stupefaction that followed my short-lived dream of education entirely destroyed my peace of mind, and deprived me of my inward strength. My mistakes in administration in this matter long kept me the slave of an error, or rather of a half-truth, of which I had made an idol, and in the unspeakable sorrow which was the consequence of this idolatry, vanished what little strength of religious feeling I had ever had.

"I cannot then and must not hide the fact that truth, as I apprehend it, is founded upon the earth, and is far from reaching the sublime heights to which faith and love can raise humanity. You know Glulphi's[1] opinion; it is also mine. I doubt, not because I look on doubt as the truth, but because the sum of the impressions of my life has driven faith, with its blessings, from my soul.

"Thus impelled by my fate, I see nothing more in Christianity than the purest and noblest teaching of the victory of the spirit over the flesh, the one possible means of raising our nature to its true nobility, or, in other words, of establishing the empire of the reason over the senses by the development of the purest feelings of the heart.

"That is what I take to be the essence of Christianity, but I do not think many men are capable, from their nature, of becoming true Christians; in fact, I believe men in general to be as incapable of reaching this true nobility as of worthily wearing an earthly crown.

"I believe Christianity to be the salt of the earth; but however highly I value this salt, I believe that gold, stone, sand, and pearls have an independent value, and that everything must be considered in itself. I believe even that the very mire of the earth has its laws and legitimate rights quite independently of Christianity; and though I am well aware of the narrowness of my point of view when, in my search for truth, I limit my investigations to these laws and these rights, my voice still seems to me like a voice crying in the wilderness to prepare a way for Him who is to come. Sometimes, indeed, I seem scarcely to know either what I am doing, or whither I tend, and yet I find myself irresistibly driven to say what I do; and however much I may suffer from the fatal circle which encompasses me, and from which there is no escape, everything I say is at least in earnest. I stop then far short of the perfection of my own character, and know nothing of the heights to which I foresee that humanity may some day rise. But enough for the present, my friend, of the defects of my Christianity. . . .

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[1] In *Leonard and Gertrude.*

"I am at present at Richterswyl. Doctor Hotz has left home for some months, and during his absence I am staying in his house, with no business to attend to, and no one to disturb me. Rejoice, my friend, at the happiness which is to be mine for a time."

It was now that Pestalozzi began his correspondence with Fellenberg, the celebrated founder of the Hofwyl institutions. His letters give us valuable information as to the view he took of the French Revolution, and as to the hopes, and more especially the fears, with which it filled him for Switzerland. Fellenberg had just the qualities which Pestalozzi lacked; he was practical, prudent, firm, and a good administrator. Could these two men have worked steadily together, the success of the philanthropic enterprises in which they were both engaged would probably have been ensured; but even their great friendship was powerless to keep two such different natures long in harmony. Pestalozzi's generous enthusiasm was wounded by Fellenberg's cold reasoning, and the almost rustic simplicity of the Zurich democrat accorded but ill with the somewhat ostentatious dignity of the Bernese patrician. Fellenberg several times offered him help in his troubles, but the perfect sympathy and understanding which alone would have made it possible for the two men to undertake a work in common never existed between them.

The letters we are about to quote were written between the years 1792 and 1794. They have a special interest from the fact that no cloud having yet arisen between the two friends, Pestalozzi speaks quite openly of all that is in his mind.

PESTALOZZI TO FELLENBERG.

"*Neuhof, September* 15*th*, 1792.

"Dear and noble friend! Thank you once more for the many proofs you have given me of your friendship. I am greatly rejoiced at the thought of spending a few weeks with you at the beginning of November. Between now and then the fate of France will be decided. If she is beaten, we shall be better able than now to judge of what is really important to humanity in her affairs; if she still resists, her very faults will be forgiven by those in whom they now excite such unreasonable fury. In either case the world will gain something; and if France is worthy of liberty, she will certainly have it. . . .

"I am informed that several members of the National Assembly have been told that, in the present passionate excitement of the French people, nobody could point out to them the truths they stand in need of better than I could; but I doubt whether I could do any good."

"*Neuhof, October 4th*, 1792.

"I agree with you entirely on the points you mention. And yet I think it very important to persuade France of the harm that would result to herself and the good cause from any hostile action against us; it would be much worse than she thinks, and than people, carried away by passion, care to tell her. You know I am not one of these. All my life I have ardently desired the emancipation of the people, and yet no one was ever more firmly convinced than I am that it can only be brought about by preserving all the conditions of public order.

"I can quite see that such manifestations by Switzerland as you speak of might do great good to the country; and after the last declarations of the French, I am inclined to think that something of the sort might be necessary. I very much wish we could talk the matter over. Be quite happy about me, my friend; I am more than prudent, I am innocent, and, in the face of my innocence, suspicions would only confound those who were suspicious. My country has no more faithful citizen than I, but my opinion in matters that concern the true welfare of humanity is to be bought by no man, either French or Swiss.

"My agriculture swallows up all my time. I am longing for winter, with its leisure. My time passes like a shadow, and though my experience may be ripening, I am prematurely losing the power of expressing my ideas. I impatiently long for rest, and a cell where I should be free from cares. Here I am never free from weariness and disturbance."

"*Neuhof, November 19th*, 1792.

"It is notorious, too, in my part of the country that I am a 'Nationalist,' and am going to Paris. A few women, friends of the clergy in the neighbourhood, cross themselves when they meet the heretical democrat. I quietly await the result of the calumnies to which this will probably give rise. And yet *Leonard and Gertrude* will always be a proof that I almost wore myself out in my efforts to save the aristocracy,—as much of it, that is, as was worth saving. My trouble, however, only excited ingratitude, so much so, indeed, that that excellent man, the Emperor Leopold, spoke of me before he died as a good Abbé de Saint Pierre. After all, nobody can help those who will not help themselves, and there is nothing commoner than to see people who have been the cause of their own ruin trying to save themselves by meanness and falsehood."

"*Neuhof, December 5th*, 1792.

"I want a talk with you very badly, and shall certainly come to Berne at the beginning of next year. I am already rejoicing at the prospect. I have decided to render France what assistance I can by writing on several points of legislation. . . . The last news from Berne as to the danger of an attack on our country is more reassuring. I am all the more glad, because I fancy I am right in thinking that this war, especially at first, would bring about a split in the Confederation. We cannot, indeed, do too much for the sake of peace, for it is important that we should be in a position to give the people throughout Switzerland as much liberty as will ensure their warm support for all future governments."

"*Richterswyl, November 15th*, 1793.

"Thank you for a letter in which your love of good carries you certainly too far. I am but a feeble old man; there are immense gaps in my knowledge, my intellectual strength is comparatively small, and perhaps my only merit is that in most things my will is not governed by my interests. The little I have done for truth and the happiness of men makes you, in your love for humanity, esteem me more than I deserve. Do not think me ungrateful; but I know, and indeed ought to know, how weak I am.

"Ah, my friend, I have lived many years in a state of indescribable misery, and my experience has taught me much; amongst other things, that Nature herself bids a man look to his own interests and those of his family. My own early education, unfortunately, did not in any way prepare me for this duty, and the harm is irreparable. Nor is my son, in this respect, any better off than I am, for I only arrived at a clear and exact idea of the importance of special training for this end when it was too late. But now I have made up my mind that, so long as I am capable of doing so, I shall devote my remaining strength to completing the writings I have begun, and endeavour to make profit by their publication.

"But, my friend, this will not be an easy matter. In my desire for simplicity, I destroy whole pages of my manuscripts for every few lines I keep. You would not believe what long and painful efforts many of the passages that seem so simple have cost me. I shall never be quite repaid then for all my trouble, but, thank God, I have never stooped to letting a word stand simply for the sake of being paid for it. It is certain that, from a pecuniary point of view, my system is a very bad one; but I hope that some day, when I have sufficiently sacrificed myself in this way, a way indeed which is likely to find few imitators amongst my money-loving brethren, I hope, I say, that after a time I shall at last realize some small profit from a complete collection of my writings, which will then have been made as perfect as possible. When that time comes, I shall rely principally upon my friends for co-operation and support. But how can I talk to you at this length on a mere question of money!

"And yet, my friend, the happiness of the world largely depends upon its wisdom in these questions, in which I personally have always been one of the greatest fools in the universe. But God grant that in higher matters I may be able to render the services you expect of me. When the book I am at present engaged on is finished, I will come to you. I know that you will be all the better pleased that in my way of treating my subject all personal interest disappears, whether in the democracy, the aristocracy, or the monarchy, just as in a statement of the principles of pure Christianity all personal interest in a particular sect should disappear. . . . .

"If you should hear anything certain as to the possibility of peace, I entreat you to send me a line; for if the war continues, we shall go back at least a generation. In the meantime let us comfort ourselves by doing our work as if we were ignorant of what is taking place."

"*Richterswyl, January* 16*th*, 1794.

"The times in which we live are like those hot summer days in which fruits ripen amid thunder and hail, to the gain of the whole, but to the detriment of certain parts. I am most anxious to see you this spring; if you do not come here, I shall come to Berne.

"I am actively engaged in thinking out my new work. What do you think of this: 'Who are those who suffer most, and run the greatest danger in the present state of things? Is it not those who possess most? And ought you not chiefly to comfort those who suffer most?' Striking words; but before giving you their history, I should like to have your opinion of them.

"Fichte is making a commentary on *Leonard and Gertrude*, from the point of view of Kant's philosophy. Baggesen urges me to go to Denmark. I often wish I were ten years younger, or rather, that I were still as strong as I was ten years ago. But I mean to make the fullest use of the flying hours, and am grateful to you and to all others who are helping me gather up the crumbs of my wasted life.

"I am very glad to have satisfied myself, from a conversation with Fichte, that my experience has led me to many of the same results as Kant."

These letters give us an insight into Pestalozzi's life and thought during those ten years of seclusion, when there were neither published writings nor practical undertakings to bear witness to his activity.

In this correspondence he no longer speaks of his favourite idea of a school for poor children, the failure of his experiment being still too recent to allow him to see any possibility of ever meeting with complete success; his thoughts turn rather to politics and the coming reforms in the institutions of his country, in which he sees help for the realization of his plans for the happiness of the people.

We see that he even hopes sometimes to induce France to listen to him, and by the influence of his ideas make measures for the reform of public education one of the fruits of the Revolution. This hope would seem presumptuous did we not know that it was to some extent justified by a decree of the National Assembly, which, on Sunday, the 27th of August, 1792, had solemnly declared citizens of the French Republic all the men of that time who were distinguished for their efforts on behalf of humanity. Pestalozzi was amongst the number, with Bentham, Payne, Wilberforce, Clarkson, Washington, Madison, Klopstock, Kosciusko, and others.

Pestalozzi's relations with Fichte, of which mention is made in these letters to Fellenberg, were much more intimate than has generally been supposed. Fichte had married a very old friend of Mrs. Pestalozzi's, and as he often stayed in Zurich, a great friendship had sprung up between the two thinkers, who, in 1794, spent several days together at Richterswyl. We shall see that the relations which thus existed between the German philosopher and the Swiss philanthropist, contributed in no small degree to the subsequent appreciation in Germany of the principles and work of the great educational reformer.

In his letters to Fellenberg, Pestalozzi often speaks of certain writings, to which, in spite of many difficulties, he is in the habit of devoting all the leisure left him by his agriculture. These works, published in 1797, were his *Fables* and his *Inquiry into the Course of Nature in the Development of the Human Race.* Both are distinguished from his other books by a very marked political tendency. The former first appeared under the curious title of *Figures for my A B C Book*, a name Pestalozzi had given to *Leonard and Gertrude*, because it contained, as he said, the A B C of wisdom for the people. The figures he now adds to it are short apologues, intended to give body, as it were, to its moral teaching. The title of *Fables* only appeared in the second edition, published at Basle, in 1803, and is scarcely suitable to the nature of the work.

There are as many as two hundred and thirty-nine of these so-called fables, all in prose, nearly all very short, and all containing some striking and original truth bearing on morality, education, society, or politics. In reading the book, we are struck by the author's imagination no less than by his power of observation and reflection. To give some idea of the fables, we cannot do better than append a few:

8. THE GRASS AND THE MUSHROOM.

The Mushroom said to the Grass, "I grow in an instant, but you take a whole year." "True," replied the Grass, "whilst I am acquiring my value, you, in your uselessness, may come and go a hundred times."

26. The Two Colts.

Two colts, as like as two eggs, fell into different hands. One was bought by a peasant, whose only thought was to harness it to his plough as soon as possible; this one turned out a bad horse. The other fell to the lot of a man who, by looking after it well, and training it carefully, made a noble steed of it, strong and mettlesome.

Fathers and mothers, if your children's faculties are not carefully trained and directed aright, they will become not only useless, but hurtful, and the greater the faculties, the greater the danger.

53. A Fool's Fountain.

The fountain of a poor, vain fool having run almost dry, he told his servant to stop the pipe when there was no one near, but to let it run on the approach of strangers. "That will only make the fountain worse," answered the servant, "and there will often be no water just when it is most needed." To which his master replied, "I can bear anything so long as people do not know that my fountain is dry."

72. The Oak and the Grass.

Said the Grass to the Oak, under whose shade it grew, "I should thrive better in the open than under your shelter." "Ungrateful one!" exclaimed the Oak, "you forget that every winter I cover you with my leaves." "What!" cried the Grass, "your proud branches rob me of sun, dew, and rain; your roots of the nourishment of the soil; and yet you would have me grateful for the forced alms of a few withered leaves, which serve rather to foster your own growth than prevent my decay!"

74. The Crumbling Rock.

A rock, which for centuries had sheltered cattle from sun and rain, was crumbling with age. Day after day pieces broke off, and fell upon the animals, till at last they fled from the place where they had formerly loved to rest. But the old herdsman, half blind and half deaf, could not understand what had happened, and thought they had been bewitched by an enemy.

It is sad to see the old shelters becoming dangerous ruins; sadder still to see the leaders of the people failing to understand the danger.

86. The Interior of the Hill.

A simpleton, seeing a hill covered with beautiful verdure, thought that it must be good earth right through; but a man who knew the place took him to a spot where the interior was exposed, and it was nothing but rock and gravel.

The hills of the earth, however green and fertile they may be, have nearly always a hard, barren subsoil. Similarly, men, however noble in heart and mind, are seldom without strata of rock and gravel in the flesh.

Even when outward appearances are most beautiful, and most rich in power, honour, and dignity, shut in below the surface are the vices of our nature. Hence, however high a man may be placed, he must give ear to the precept: "Watch and pray, lest ye enter into temptation; for the spirit truly is willing, but the flesh is weak."

92. The Lime-tree and the King.

A King, who was standing alone under a lime-tree, was struck by the beauty of its foliage, and exclaimed: "Would that my subjects held to me as these leaves hold to thy branches!"

The Tree answered him: "I am for ever carrying the sap of my roots to each of my leaves."

97. A Simpleton's Judgment.

Some magnificent poplars and a few scrubby, undersized oaks grew by the side of the same stream. Simple Simon therefore concluded that the poplar makes good wood, and the oak bad.

I know teachers who judge of their scholars, pastors of their flocks, and rulers of those they govern, with no more reason than Simple Simon judged of the merits of the oak and the poplar-tree.

101. One of the Bad Effects of Proverbs.

"It is sad that, in spite of his feelings, a man so often finds himself obliged to be unkind to his horses!" said a kind-hearted waggoner one day, compelled to hurry his over-burdened beasts. And then gradually he got into the habit of repeating the words with as little thought as Good-morning or Good-night, till at last they became a proverb amongst the waggoners of the country; and now, any wretched fellow who ill-treats his horses or his oxen, excuses himself with: "It cannot be otherwise; a waggoner must be unkind in spite of his feelings."

116. The Feeling of Equality.

A shepherd, who fed his sheep rather poorly but all alike, found that, as a rule, they were satisfied. But one day he picked out a dozen for better treatment, and from that moment there was discontent in the flock, and many ewes died of vexation.

117. The Limit of Equality.

A Dwarf said to a Giant: "I have the same rights as you." "True, my friend," replied the Giant; "but you could not walk in my shoes."

160. The Lord and his Vassals.

"I do a great deal to make you contented and happy," said a great lord to his vassals. "True, true," they replied with one accord, "and we have much to thank you for." One peasant only did not speak. He was silent for a time, and then said: "May I ask my lord a question?" "Certainly," was the reply.

Peasant: "I have two fields of corn, one richly manured, but badly cultivated and full of weeds; the other sparingly manured, but well cultivated and clean. Which will yield me the most?"

Lord: "The second, of course, since you have made it possible for the corn to grow freely."

Peasant: "Well, my lord, if, instead of loading us with gifts, you would be good enough to leave us to manage our own affairs, I think we should be better off."

176. WHY JUPITER MADE THE LION KING.

The animals stood before Jupiter's throne awaiting his decree, most of them believing and hoping that the elephant would be appointed. The lion had as domineering an air as though he were king already, but the elephant moved quietly to and fro with the greatest unconcern.

Suddenly the voice of the lord of the thunder was heard: "The lion is king."

"My choice surprises you," said Jupiter to the others, who were standing open-mouthed with astonishment; "you must learn, then, that the elephant needs you not, having intelligence and talents enough to be self-sufficing; but the lion has need of you, and as he is able, at the same time, to make himself respected, I appoint him to be king."

197. MEPHISTOPHELES SINGS THE PRAISES OF A BRAZEN TONGUE.

The princes of hell, assembled in council, complained of the slow progress of the kingdom of lying and injustice. "The violent means," they said, "that our servants employ against our eternal enemies, truth and justice, are absolutely useless. In vain do we make martyrs of the heroic followers of truth, love, and justice; the more we persecute hell's enemies, the more strength do they seem to gain."

After a moment's silence, Mephistopheles rose and addressed the assembly: "It is true that our servants do not understand all that is wanted to establish our sway amongst men. They should pursue our enemies not only with fire and sword, but above all with the tongue. They must learn better how to throw dust into men's eyes by empty words; to twist injustice into justice, and lying into truth; to make straight crooked, and crooked straight; to pervert the truth in an opponent's mouth even before it is uttered; to represent all manifestations of goodness, kindness, and love as the contemptible results of human folly and weakness. The sole strength of our enemies lies in the crumbs of love and truth that have fallen to them from heaven; but this gift is in weak hands, from which, if we be but bold enough of speech, we may wrest it. A clever, brazen tongue cannot be too highly praised, for it is always associated with hatred, injustice, harshness, and lying, which in themselves are quite enough to destroy the love and truth that heaven has bestowed upon feeble men."

The whole of hell applauded this speech of the prince, and all the devils obeyed.

214. How the Animals Understand Liberty.

King Lion one day asked his subjects what they meant when they talked of liberty.

Said the ox: "I should think it the most desirable liberty to be never fastened to the yoke, but always to the manger."

Said the monkey: "I shall never think myself free so long as I have a tail and a hairy skin. Without these disadvantages I should be quite free, for I should be a man."

Said the draught horse: "I feel free when my harness is taken off, and I have nothing at all to carry."

Said the carriage horse: "When I am magnificently harnessed, and drag a fine carriage for a short distance, I sometimes feel freer than the noble lord behind me."

Said the ass: "To be free is never to have either sack or basket upon your back."

Said the sloth: "If, when I have devoured all the leaves on my branch, somebody would be good enough to carry me to another and put me within reach of the leaves I so much enjoy, I should be free indeed."

Said the fox: "And I should be free if my prey did no cost me so much fear, cunning, and patience."

A man overheard all this and cried: "Surely none but animals can wish for this sort of liberty." He was right: every wish for such liberty as is only fit for animals stifles in a man's soul all true sense of real liberty.

In this same year, 1797, in which the first edition of the *Fables* appeared, Pestalozzi published his *Inquiry into the Course of Nature in the Development of the Human Race.* His aim was to study the law of man's natural development, and by so doing to throw light on certain points of moral and political science, and furnish education with a few fundamental principles. In other words, Pestalozzi sought to give some philosophical colour to the views he was endeavouring to spread, and which he had hitherto rather felt than proved to be true.

In his previous writings he had either described concrete facts or proclaimed isolated truths; but in the book we are now considering he undertakes a serious philosophical inquiry, with a view to building up such a sound and complete system as will explain and justify his views, and at the same time give them a centre and unity.

This new method was not much to Pestalozzi's taste, nor was it in accordance with the general bent of his mind; it is probable indeed that he would never have adopted it, had he not been persuaded by his friend Fichte, the philosopher, who, accustomed to generalizations, urged the Swiss philanthropist to formulate the philosophical principle which was at the root of his teaching and plans. Fichte even gave him certain directions for the work, to which Pestalozzi devoted himself for three years with incredible zeal and assiduity.

The *Inquiry* is the most important book published by Pestalozzi, but it is also the most unsatisfactory. The very qualities which are so essential in a work of this kind—method and order—are sadly lacking; there are far too many unnecessary and tedious developments, and the whole book is prolix and obscure. The result was that it met with no success, as the author himself tells us in *How Gertrude Teaches her Children*, published in 1801. The passage is as follows:

"For three years I took immense pains with my *Inquiry*, my chief object being to co-ordinate my favourite ideas, and bring my natural sentiments into harmony with my views on civil law and morality. But my work was but another proof of my incapacity. . . .

"And so I reaped no more than I had sown. My book had no more effect than my previous labours, nobody understood me, and there was not a man who did not give me to understand that he considered the whole work a jumble of nonsense. Only to-day even, a man of some distinction, and a friend, said to me: 'Surely, Pestalozzi, you see now that in writing that book you did not really know what you meant.'"

Niederer, however, who was afterwards so intimately associated with Pestalozzi, judged differently. Early in 1801 he wrote to the author as follows:

> "Your *Inquiry* strikes me as a rough but solid product of that psychological intuition which is peculiar to you; and so little does it seem to me to be nonsense, that I look upon it as containing a most valuable discovery, what indeed I may call the germ of your whole educational method. Your ideas are so profound and suggestive that I wish you could find enough quiet leisure to arrange them somewhat more clearly; but you must not attempt this till you have put your educational work on a satisfactory basis.[1] The expression of your views will then probably be more general and complete, and more intelligible to men who are still unfamilar with the new point of view you have thrown open to us."

After having carefully studied this book, we have come to very much the same conclusion as Niederer. It certainly contains many suggestive truths, not yet generally recognized, which go far to explain some of the apparent contradictions in the life of the individual and of humanity, which might help to solve the political and social problems that torment our age, and which afford a broad and solid basis for Pestalozzi's method of education. But with all this, the book, if it is to be really useful, must be rewritten; and since the author did not follow Niederer's advice, some capable man is wanted, first to saturate himself with Pestalozzi's ideas, and then to restate them, and make of this nonsense, as it has been called, a new work, clearer and more systematic than the original, and leading to more definite conclusions.

After what we have said, it is evident that we cannot here attempt an analysis of the book. It will be enough to give a general notion of the subjects it treats, and cite a few of the most striking ideas. Pestalozzi's aim may be best stated in his own words:

> "The contradictions which apparently exist in human nature affect very few people so keenly as they affect me. Even when I was beginning to grow old, I felt the same need that I had always felt of some sort of free and useful

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[1] This letter was written just after Pestalozzi had started his institution at Burgdorf.

activity, and this in spite of the fact that my activity has always been vain and sterile and productive of little contentment.

"But now at last I feel tired and sit down to rest, and yet I am thankful to say that though my heart is suffering and downcast, I am still able to ask myself with all the simpleness of a child: What am I, and what is humanity? What have I done, and what does humanity do?

"I am anxious to know what my life, such as it has been, has made of me; and what life, such as it is, makes of humanity?

"I am anxious to find out the real sources of my activity and of the opinions which have resulted naturally from the circumstances in which I have been placed.

"I am anxious also to find out the real sources of the activity of my race, and of the opinions which result naturally from the circumstances in which men are placed."

After having thus stated the philosophical problem, the author recognizes three different tendencies in himself, three natures, three distinct men as it were: the animal man, the social man, and the moral man.

The animal man is the work of Nature, a slave to the pleasures of sense, careless of the morrow, thinking only of to-day; but kindly, simple, and straightforward in his ways. He predominates in the infancy of the individual as in that of humanity.

The weakness of the animal man, however, leads him to engage in industry, and industry produces property, and property strife. Gradually, too, differences in power and capability produce differences in position, and the less fortunate are compelled to appeal to the powerful for protection, to the thoughtful for guidance, and to the rich for food, and so the social state begins.

The social man is not merely the work of Nature; he is also, and in a much greater degree, the work of society, for it is society that makes him what he is by limiting his liberty and by subjecting him to rule, custom, and opinion. If childhood may be taken as a fairly correct image of the animal man, adolescence may be taken as that of the social man, for it is upon the youth that teachers and professors, schools and universities, lay hands to fashion him to their liking.

But the animal man is restless under the control of the social man, and so everybody tries to preserve for himself the liberty he denies to others, and pleasures that cannot be shared by all. And thus society, that aimed at putting an end to strife, has only changed its form and made it more general. The employment of force being forbidden, a hundred other ways of attack have been found, and antagonism has become so general that in civilized States every man is on his guard against every other. The kindliness and straightforwardness of the animal man have disappeared, and have been replaced in the social man by ill-will and cunning.

Society has need of laws and government, and must therefore allow its rulers that right of force which is denied to the individual. Thus the social state, bringing with it on the one hand a spirit of dominion, and on the other a state of subjection, indefinitely increases men's natural inequalities as well as their pride and ambition, and the smothered strife that goes on throughout society has no longer for cause the simple desire to satisfy legitimate needs, but rather the pursuit of a number of refined artificial pleasures, limitless as the dreams of a diseased imagination.

The social state, then, in spite of its immense advantages for the progress of order, security, industry, science, and art, is powerless to improve the heart of man; nay, even religion itself, in so far as it is only a part of a social system, is like a mould which does but shape the surface. The moral man is not, therefore, the work of society.

The animal man is the work of Nature, the social man the work of society, but the moral man must be the work of himself—the result, that is, of the development and exercise of the sentiments of pity and justice, love and gratitude, faith and charity, which the Creator has set in the human soul. Each individual must have the desire to be higher, nobler, and better, and must endeavour to make himself so by working upon his own character. The result of such work is the moral man, and society is only really and entirely beneficial when it is composed of men of this sort.

True religion exists for the moral man alone; for man can only find God by the searchings of his own heart, and in so far as he still preserves God's image in himself. When this image is no longer there, he makes a god in his own image. The religion of the animal man is idolatry, and of the social man deceit; but the religion of the moral man is truth, the principle and stay of all morality, and gives him not only the desire for unceasing self-improvement, but the means of carrying it out.

A man's progress is real, and his activity of value to himself, his family, and society, only when he is self-formed; for then only is all that he possesses really his own, then only has he a distinct individuality, with heart and mind no longer the slaves either of animal instincts or of the prejudices of society.

The foregoing sketch will give but a very imperfect idea of the *Inquiry*, for we have done little more than point out the general plan of the work, whereas it is in the digressions and developments that we often find the author's most striking ideas. Often, too, when he is led by his feelings and imagination either to satirize the institutions of his time, or paint in glowing colours the moral and intellectual progress to which he aspires, the philosopher is lost in the poet, and we come upon page after page of the most lofty eloquence. The book closes with the following touching reference to himself:

"Thousands of men (the work of Nature alone) yield to the corruption of sensual pleasures and desire nothing further; myriads accept the hard bondage of their needle, their hammer, or their crown, and also desire nothing further.

"I, however, know a man who was not thus contented. The innocence of childhood was his delight, his faith in men was such as is shared by few mortals, his heart was fashioned for friendship, his nature was love itself, constancy his chief joy.

"But as he was not made by the world, the world had no place for him, and finding him thus, without even asking whether the fault was his or another's, crushed him with its iron hammer as the mason crushes a useless stone.

"But though crushed, he still cared more for humanity than for himself, and set to work on a task from which, amid cruel sorrows, he learned things that few mortals know. Then he looked for justice from those whom in his retirement he still loved, but he was disappointed, for he was judged by men who had not even listened to him, and persistently declared him to be fit for nothing.

"This was the grain of sand that turned the balance of his fate and was his ruin.

"He is now no more, and a few confused traces are all that remain of his broken existence. He has fallen, as the green fruit falls from the tree when the cold north wind has smitten its blossom, or the cankerworm gnawed its heart. And as he fell, he leaned his head against the trunk, and murmured: 'Yet would I still nourish thy roots with my dust.' Passer-by, give a tear to his memory, and leave this fallen, rotting fruit to strengthen the tree in whose branches it passed its short-lived summer."

With this book closes the series of works published by Pestalozzi during the period when he was merely a writer, and before he entered upon the educational undertakings in which he applied and developed his method of teaching, and which not only brought him many eminent collaborators, but helped to spread far and wide the fame of the Pestalozzian method.

Pestalozzi's publications during this period have a peculiar importance, partly because they give their author's ideas free from all foreign alloy, partly because his manuscripts were printed just as they left his pen.

Afterwards, at Burgdorf and Yverdun, it was no longer the same, for Pestalozzi, unable to write everything himself, entrusted much of the work connected with his elementary books to some of his collaborators, particularly Krusi and Schmidt. Niederer also helped him in this way, revising all his more important work before publication, with a view to giving it a more philosophical form.

But none who have studied Pestalozzi can be deceived, the master's style bearing an unmistakable stamp of originality. Pestalozzi sees far and deep, but seldom indulges in general views; his impulsive genius is entirely unsystematic; he sheds no steady light, but breaks out rather in brilliant flashes, following every impulse of his heart and every discovery of his genius with little care for logical sequence. This is at once his great merit and his great defect.

CHAPTER VII.

PESTALOZZI'S DOCTRINE BEFORE 1798.

The Swiss Revolution of 1798 divides Pestalozzi's life into two widely different parts.

In the first, left to himself, he worked alone; he was little understood; his undertakings failed, and he lived on in his obscure retreat, poor and despised by everybody. But at the same time there was nothing to check the activity of his thought, or in any way affect the originality of his genius and his ideas.

In the second part of his life, Pestalozzi, thanks to the Revolution, obtained support from the Swiss Government, and was at last able to carry out his views for the education of the people. His rare devotion and success excited general admiration; offers of helpers and pupils came to him from all sides, and he founded his educational institutions. But after the first outburst of enthusiasm, criticism and envy also made their appearance. The general body of teachers, indeed, manifested considerable opposition to the new method, and numerous attacks were directed against it, which had all to be answered. The consequence of this was that from that time Pestalozzi, having to consider his protectors the magistrates, his collaborators, and the parents of his pupils, was no longer able to preserve the complete independence he had formerly enjoyed. And hence it is important that we should clearly understand what Pestalozzi's doctrine was at the end of this first period of his life, before those undertakings were embarked upon which brought him glory, it is true, though often, if we may judge from its outward manifestations, at the expense of the independence and originality of his genius.

In 1797 Pestalozzi was fifty-one years old, and, as we have seen, looked upon himself as a worn-out old man incapable of further effort. And yet his most important work, that work which, in spite of not being entirely free from foreign influences, was in the truest sense the result and development of his past thought and activity, was not even begun. If we examine Pestalozzi's views at the point we have now reached, it will be easier, when we are describing the second part of his life, to distinguish the natural and logical development of these views from the modifications introduced into them by circumstances.

We have seen that the starting-point of Pestalozzi's work was his search for the means of rescuing the people from their state of poverty and degradation. He soon saw that it is impossible to help the poor, unless the poor are able and willing to help themselves; that is to say, their material destitution cannot disappear so long as their moral and intellectual poverty exists. In other words, the true remedy is education.

Then, in studying human nature in very young children, he found, even in the families most degraded by poverty, the seed as it were of a wealth of faculties, sentiments, tastes, and capabilities, whose natural development would provide for the satisfaction of all the material, intellectual, and moral needs of society.

He saw, further, that the ordinary education of his day, instead of looking for these elements of power in the child, in order to develop them by use and encourage a full natural growth of all the child's best faculties, did nothing but put before him the knowledge, ideas, and feelings of others, and try to make him regulate his habits by them, and fix them in his memory.

Thus the most precious powers of the child wasted in inaction, and education did little more than stifle his individuality beneath a mass of borrowed ideas.

The direction of the education of the day was from without to within; Pestalozzi wished to make it from within to without.

All these ideas are expressed so often and so clearly in the quotations we have given from Pestalozzi's writings, that it seems superfluous to refer to the numerous passages in which they are to be found. It was still necessary, however, to find a way of developing these powers, which exist in the child but in germ, and of strengthening and increasing the budding faculties whose united and harmonious action is to form the perfect man.

In his first writing on education, *The Evening Hour of a Hermit*, printed in 1780, Pestalozzi had said in No. 22: "Nature develops all the powers of humanity by exercising them; they increase with use." And, again, in No. 25: "Thou who wouldst be a father to thy child, do not expect too much of him till his mind has been strengthened by practice in the things he can understand."

Thus if faculties are to be developed, they must be used; and before they can be used they must be provided with work within their scope. Hence the importance in all elementary exercises of the starting-point, which, after much careful investigation, Pestalozzi found in the child's natural tastes, in the needs of its age, in the circumstances of its home-life, for we read in No. 40 of the *Evening Hour:* "The pure sentiment of truth and wisdom is formed in the narrow circle of our personal relations, the circumstances which suggest our actions, and the powers we need to develop." Having thus sought the starting-point of education in the needs, desires, and circumstances of actual life, Pestalozzi was naturally led to associate the work of the body with that of the mind, to develop industry and study side by side, to combine, as it were, the workshop and the school. It is particularly in *Leonard and Gertrude* that this last point of view is most fully treated.

Thus the question of education led to the consideration of economical questions. It was not only necessary to develop the intellectual faculties and the moral sense of the child, but also to exercise his bodily powers and teach him to earn his livelihood in the society in which he has to live, and in which nothing but his own efforts will keep him a place.

This explains how it was that Pestalozzi felt called upon to examine our social system, to point out the obstacles in the way of an improved condition of the people, and to determine what reforms were necessary for helping this on.

Thus led to the consideration of social and political questions, he first treats them in fiction in *Leonard and Gertrude*, where he describes the reformation of the village of Bonal; then in apologues in the *Fables*, and finally in a philosophical essay in the *Inquiry*, a work which cost him, as we know, three years of sustained effort.

In his views on social organization, Pestalozzi was in advance of his time, and the points he raises are still burning questions to-day, though his opinions will seem vague and timid to modern socialists who do not always respect religion, family ties, or the rights of property, all of which Pestalozzi believed to be essential conditions of civilization and progress. He condemns luxury, display, and the arrogance of those upon whom the world smiles. He wishes comfort to be within the reach of the lower classes, though for this end, which is the great unchanging desire of his heart, he relies much more on education than on statutes.

In politics he has distinctly radical tendencies, though with a horror of all violence. He is an enthusiast for liberty, and wants everything to be done for the people, the poor, the weak, and the ignorant. He does not, however, want everything done by the people. It is true that the poor people amongst whom he lived, and whom he understood better than anybody, were not at that time fit to have the direction of public affairs placed in their hands. His democracy then was not quite the same as the democracy of to-day.

Pestalozzi's religious sentiment was strong and living; it comes out in all his writings and in all the circumstances of his life. And yet it is by no means clear what his religion was, for he nowhere makes a complete profession of faith, which can only be looked for in isolated passages that do not always agree. The fact is that Pestalozzi had no religious system. The first seeds of the religious sentiment had been sown in his earliest childhood in his home-life, and, though his faith had been weakened rather than strengthened by his subsequent theological studies, and severely shaken by the writings of Rousseau and the philosophers of the eighteenth century, it had revived, as we have seen, at the birth of his son. But even then Pestalozzi still held aloof from all dogmatism, and refused his adherence to any set of doctrines. He had seen too much dead orthodoxy and barren dogma, too much religious instruction that was powerless to touch the heart or change the life. He rejected formularies no less than formalism, and condemned the use of the catechism in schools, where he wanted religion to be confined to the reading of the Bible and the practice of the Christian virtues. He felt that set doctrines have always something that savours of men about them, that they are only useful for scholars and not good for little children. He feared, too, that theology might prove a tempting substitute for the religion of the heart and life, a fear which we think may be explained by the state of religious feeling amongst the educated classes at the end of the last century.

In this frame of mind Pestalozzi was inclined to yield to every suggestion of his heart and imagination, and often indulged in outbursts which exaggerated his real thought, and sometimes led him to contradict himself without suspecting it. We will give but one instance out of many. Pestalozzi has often been charged with not believing in original sin; that is, in the innate existence of evil in the heart of man, a charge which can be supported by numerous passages in which he exalts the innocence of the child, and expects everything from an education that shall nourish, train, and develop the germs of virtue and goodness implanted in the heart.

And yet in other places he points with precisely the same force of conviction to the existence of evil in human nature. He does this in a most striking manner in the fable, *The Interior of the Hill*, which we quoted in full in the last chapter.

Orthodox Christians will find many expressions in Pestalozzi's writings that they will take exception to, but they will find no attack on revealed truths. Now, had he not believed in them, he would have said so, for he was not a man to spare anything that he did not think good and true. Though eminently a free-thinker in the proper sense of the word, and also a free speaker, never did his free-thought lead him to doubt the Christian verities. It is true that at this period of his life his outward manifestations of religion were, from a Christian point of view, exceedingly incomplete; afterwards, however, he endeavoured to make up for these shortcomings, though he always more or less ignored the essential doctrine of the redemption. This explains how it is that certain people, forgetting his long life of abnegation, ardent charity, and absolute self-surrender, have gone so far as to say that Pestalozzi was not a Christian. But did not Jesus Himself say, "By their fruits ye shall know them"?

If it is now asked what, in this first part of his life, Pestalozzi's essential work really was, and what the discovery was that we owe to his genius and to the prodigious activity of his thought, we answer that his work was that of a philosopher, and his discovery that of a principle which regulates the law of man's development, and is the fundamental principle of education. It may seem hard to some to recognize a philosopher in this man, who seemed bent on nothing but practical experiments, who, as a writer, excelled chiefly in drawing characters and relating facts of his observation with a great wealth of detail, and who, in his *Inquiry*, the one book in which he attempted a philosophical form and style, succeeded only in being prolix and obscure. But in this respect, as in many others, Pestalozzi was like nobody else; he was a philosopher without intending it. It was in truth an idea, a general idea, and always the same, which struck him in all his observations, which inspired all his plans for reform, and which he followed in all the practical undertakings to which he put his hand. To be convinced of this, it is enough to follow him closely in his life and writings. In this way, too, we shall come to understand this general idea which was so peculiarly his own, which was constantly urging him to passionate and disinterested activity, and which inspired the great work of his life.

All the real knowledge, useful powers, and noble sentiments that a man can acquire are but the extension of his individuality by the development of the powers, strength, and faculties that God has put in him, and by their assimilation of the elements supplied by the outer world. There exists for this development and this work of assimilation a natural and necessary order which is generally neglected in school education.

That, then, is the dominant idea in Pestalozzi's thought, an idea which comes out in one way or another in all his plans for reform and in all his writings. Here are a few passages from the *Evening Hour*, in which it is easy to recognize it:

"All the pure and beneficent powers of humanity are neither the products of art nor the results of chance. They are really a natural possession of every man. Their development is a universal human need." (No. 8.)

"Man! in thyself, in the inward consciousness of thine own strength, is the instrument intended by Nature for thy development." (No. 12.)

"The path of Nature, which develops the powers of humanity, must be easy and open to all; education which brings true wisdom and peace of mind must be simple and within everybody's reach." (No. 21.)

"The exercise of a man's faculties and talents, to be profitable, must follow the course laid down by Nature for the education of humanity." (No. 23.)

"When men are anxious to go too fast, and are not satisfied with Nature's method of development, they imperil their inward strength, and destroy the harmony and peace of their souls." (No. 26.)

"The schools hastily substitute an artificial method of words for the truer method of Nature, which knows no hurry and is content to wait. In this way a specious form of development is produced, hiding the want of real inward strength, but satisfying times like our own." (No. 28.)

We have only quoted from the *Evening Hour*, because Pestalozzi there expresses his thought in short, pithy aphorisms, whereas such quotations as we might have taken from his other writings must necessarily have been much longer. But if we wish to grasp Pestalozzi's idea in its simplest, and at the same time its most general expression, we must seek it in a comparison which is so natural and familiar to him that he is always coming back to it.

In his speeches, in his explanations of his views, and especially in his fables, he is constantly comparing the education of man, even from the intellectual and moral point of view, to the development and growth of a plant. It is evident that in his eyes the analogy is complete. He even states it once in these words: "Man, formed from the dust of the earth, grows and ripens like a plant rooted in the soil."

It is by virtue of this analogy that he always speaks of education as a development, a product of the child's own work, a graduated series of progressive steps, in which each step follows naturally from the last, and prepares the way for the next. In his eyes, then, the gift of God which renders the human soul capable of its intellectual and moral victories, is like a seed which opens that its shoots may grow, spread, blossom, and bear fruit; and the part of education is to encourage and direct an organic development.

The word *organism*, it is true, is not found in any of Pestalozzi's writings before the time at which we have arrived; but although the word is not there, the idea is. It is later, in the book entitled *How Gertrude Teaches her Children*, that Pestalozzi first uses the word, which was suggested to him perhaps by some of the men who were then associated with him.

The organism of education has been treated by the author of the present biography in a work entitled, *The Philosophy and Practice of Education*, in which an attempt is made to show that the abstract organic law which is seen to exist in the material world also governs the intellectual and moral development of man, and includes all the essential principles that were recognized and applied by Pestalozzi.

Some people have hesitated thus to introduce into the domain of moral science a word which had only been employed in the physical sciences, fearing, perhaps, the abuse the materialist school might make of it, a fear, however, which seems to us to be entirely groundless. Be that as it may, it is certain that the word could not be replaced save by some neologism which would be much less clear.

In his later writings, and as his work advances, Pestalozzi makes more and more use of the word *organic* in explaining his views. And yet he never called his method the *organic method*, which seems to us the only name that really expresses its character.

We are now about to see Pestalozzi at work at last as a teacher, applying his ideas to the education of children, and formulating, if not in its principle, at any rate in its spirit and details, the method that bears his name. Now, too, the philosophical idea upon which his whole system is based, and of which in his previous writings we have caught but a glimpse, will stand out fully revealed.

CHAPTER VIII.

PESTALOZZI AT STANZ.

Swiss Revolution: the hopes it awakens in Pestalozzi. His political pamphlets. He is appointed chief editor of the "Popular Swiss News," the organ of the Government. The Directory orders the formation of an Educational Institution to be managed by Pestalozzi. Revolt of the small cantons. Disaster at Stanz. The Directory founds a Home for Orphans there under the management of Pestalozzi. Great difficulties. Astonishing success. Return of the French troops to Stanz. The orphanage wanted for a hospital. Pestalozzi ill. Goes away to the Gurnigel. His letter to Gessner on his work at Stanz. Pedagogical results of this experiment.

PESTALOZZI'S correspondence with Fellenberg has shown us how much he dreaded the intervention of France in the home affairs of Switzerland; but in the beginning of 1798 this intervention was an accomplished fact, and the young republic, scarcely recovered from the bloody convulsions of its birth, set to work to refashion its elder sister, Switzerland, in its own image.

The principles of 1789 having penetrated into most of the cantons, and divided the country, resistance was easily overcome, and the ancient structure which for four centuries had safeguarded the independence of the confederated states, crumbled and fell, carrying with it, however, oligarchical governments, family and local privileges, and a host of rights, customs and prejudices that had considerably interfered with the liberty and equality of the citizens. The Swiss Republic, one and indivisible, was now proclaimed, under the government of a Directory of five members.

In the meantime Pestalozzi had become somewhat reconciled to the intervention he had so much dreaded.

The real progress and great moral regeneration that now seemed in store for his country made him forget all the harm done to Switzerland by the presence of foreign armies, and by the irritation that resulted from the conflict of so many different ideas, feelings, and interests. He firmly believed that the reforms so often asked for in vain by many of the wisest and noblest men, were at last about to be realized, that he would be able henceforth to sow his ideas in a fruitful soil from which all obstacles had been removed, and that the efforts of the new rulers, who cared for nothing but the well-being and happiness of the people, were destined to meet with complete success. Carried away by his enthusiasm, he already seemed to see the simplicity, purity, and loyalty of former times reviving under this new breath of liberty.

Thoroughly convinced of the benefits that were to result from the new order of things, Pestalozzi at once became one of its most zealous supporters; and between the spring and autumn of 1798 published in quick succession a number of political pamphlets bearing the following titles:

a. "A Word to the Legislative Councils of Helvetia."
b. "On Tithes."
c. "Awake, People of Helvetia!"
d. "To my Country."
e. "To the People of Helvetia."
f. "An Appeal to the Inhabitants of the old Democratic Cantons."
g. "On the Present and Future of Humanity."

The first of these pamphlets, however, was condemned by the very party for whom it was written, and for no other reason than that it vehemently opposed a scheme that had been adopted by the Great Council for indemnifying, at the expense of the oligarchies, certain patriots who had been prosecuted for their attacks on the old order of things. In all these writings, indeed, Pestalozzi advocated union, harmony, and forgetfulness of the past. Nor was he satisfied with merely seeking to reconcile to the new constitution those who were still hostile to it, but exhorted the governing bodies to establish justice and morality, stimulate activity throughout the country, encourage all industries, and above all help on in every possible way the education of the people.

But his publications were hardly looked at by the people to whom they were addressed, and exercised little or no influence.

It is doubtful indeed whether they would have exercised much influence, in any case, for their author does not betray any very great practical sense. The fact is that Pestalozzi, as the Germans used to say, "understood man better than men."

Before very long, Pestalozzi's influence as a political writer was still further lessened in a way which we must now explain. In June, 1798, the Great Council asked the Directory to publish a newspaper for the purpose of meeting the opposition excited by the new state of things, enlightening men's minds, and rallying the people throughout the country round the unitary government. On the 23rd of July, the Directory instructed Stapfer, the Minister of Arts and Sciences, to see that this was done. Stapfer at once applied to Pestalozzi, who, on the 20th of August, accepted the editorship of the new publication. The paper was to be called the *Popular Swiss News*, was to appear weekly, and was to be sent gratuitously to schoolmasters, ministers of religion, and all government officials, who were instructed to read it and explain it to those about them.

Pestalozzi had help from Hess, Lavater, Füssli, and others, but he wrote most of the paper himself. Having one day asked Zschokke for his collaboration, the latter refused, saying, "A really popular paper ought not to be the organ of the Government, but a perfectly independent publication written in the spirit and language of the people for whom it is intended."

Zschokke was right. The paper was looked upon with suspicion by the opponents of the Republic, and was not read by the common people. After the first nineteen numbers, therefore, the Government suppressed it, "because it was not reaching its end." Pestalozzi, however, had ceased to be the editor some time before, grave events having called him away to work that was far more worthy of him.

As early as May, 1798, Pestalozzi had addressed the following letter to Meyer, the Minister of Justice, in the absence of Stapfer, who was then in Paris:

"Citizen Minister,—

"Convinced that the country is in urgent need of some improvement in the education and schools of the people, and feeling sure that three or four months' experience would give the most important results, I address myself, in the absence of citizen minister Stapfer, to citizen minister Meyer, to offer through him my services to the country, and to beg him to take the necessary steps with the Directory for the accomplishment of my patriotic purpose.

"With republican greeting,

"PESTALOZZI.

"*Aarau, the* 21*st May*, 1798."

This offer was accepted, and Stapfer, on his return to Aarau, at once opened negotiations with Pestalozzi. The minister was inclined to begin by establishing a training school for country schoolmasters, and putting Pestalozzi at its head, but the latter declared that he was particularly anxious to test his method with children, and showed Stapfer a plan for a poor school, such as he had attempted to establish at Neuhof, and had described in *Leonard and Gertrude*. The minister proposed the execution of this plan to the Directory in a long report from which we can only give a few extracts.

After pointing out the necessity for an entire reorganization of public education, the report continues:

"Thanks to a distinguished patriot, your minister is in a position to do this. Citizen Pestalozzi has submitted to me a plan for an educational establishment, suited not only to the needs and resources of our own time, but to the nature of men and citizens in general. The mere name of the author is enough in itself. He is a man who in his excellent and popular works has given the greatest proofs of capacity, whose disinterested activity for the country both before and after the Revolution is well known, whose opinions have received the unanimous approval of the most enlightened men and noblest princes of our time, and who longs, by a thoroughly efficient system of popular education, to give dignity to our political reform, and provide it with a solid guarantee of duration and strength.

"I might here call attention to the many advantages that would be likely to result from listening to the advice of such a man, but I will content myself with one observation. Although this indefatigable patriot has been praised on all sides, and has seen his ideas partially applied in many parts of Germany, nothing has as yet been done in his own country, where he himself would have worked for the success of each establishment, where he would have been sure of finding active collaborators, and where he would have given the world an example of the realization of his views. He is already fighting against old age, but the hope of obtaining aid from an enlightened magistracy in carrying out his heart's desire for his country and humanity, fills him once more with the courage and strength of youth. Your minister hopes, citizen directors, that the honour of rewarding him with the realization of his plans for the happiness of the country has been reserved for you."

The report then proceeds to prove:

1. That Pestalozzi's proposal satisfies all the requirements of education in general, and of public education in particular.

2. That it in no way endangers the unity and uniformity of the educational establishments of the republic, and constitutes no sort of privilege.

3. That it satisfies the requirements of the most rigid economy.

It closes with the following suggestion:

PROPOSED FORM OF DECREE.

1. The Directory hereby assures citizen Pestalozzi of its high appreciation of the many proofs he has given of his patriotism, disinterestedness, and activity in all that concerns the welfare of his country and fellow-citizens.

2. The Minister of Arts and Sciences is authorized to allow citizen Pestalozzi the sum of one hundred and twenty pounds, to be payable in such instalments and at such times as shall be agreed upon.

3. The Minister will settle with citizen Pestalozzi as to the place where an educational establishment shall be founded, and as to the number of masters, pupils, etc.

4. On receiving the Minister's report, the Directory will

furnish citizen Pestalozzi with a sufficient quantity of beds and other furniture from various national institutions.

5. At stated intervals citizen Pestalozzi will make reports to the Minister on the administration and progress of the institution, which reports will afford means of making the establishment more generally known, and of spreading its benefits.

The Directory adopted these suggestions, and steps were immediately taken to carry them out. But the choice of a locality and of a site for the establishment, as well as other questions of detail, took some time, and before these preliminary matters were settled, a frightful catastrophe gave a new direction to Pestalozzi's unselfish and untiring activity.

The three cantons of Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden, may be said to have been the cradles of Swiss liberty. Strongly attached to their ancient laws and customs, their priests, and the Catholic faith of their fathers, and proud of their old right to be self-sufficing and to govern themselves as they thought best by popular assemblies, they naturally felt nothing but horror for the revolution which had just taken place, and for the single central government which it had set up in Switzerland. The district of Lower Unterwalden borders the lake of the Four Cantons, and consists of a small group of fertile hills rising gradually to that part of the Alps which is crowned by the glaciers of the Titlis, and which commands, on the other side, the valley of the Aar in the canton of Berne. Fertile, well-watered, and happy in a mild climate, this secluded spot, cut off as it seemed from the rest of the world, was cultivated almost as carefully as a garden. It was inhabited by a fine set of people, who in their isolation in the midst of modern civilization, had preserved many of the qualities as well as the defects of the primitive races of the world.

Their flocks were their chief source of wealth, but there was a good deal of cultivated land in the neighbourhood of the village, and an abundance of fruit-trees everywhere. They were simple and frugal in their habits, and though they possessed no knowledge of any industry, and very little instruction, they were yet able to live in comfort and contentment without leading very laborious lives.

According to the laws and customs of the district, the poor were entitled to help from their relations, even the most distant, as well as from the parish and the State, a right which had gradually encouraged habits of idleness and mendicity amongst a certain portion of the population. In other respects the people of Unterwalden were a gifted race—quick, intelligent, generous, and especially remarkable for a certain æsthetic instinct, which has produced a considerable number of artists of real merit, and which is still evident to-day in all they do, in their dress, their houses, and their chapels, and above all in the small and delicate paintings that have replaced the wayside crosses on the hills. Such were the people who were now asked to take the oath of allegiance to the Unitary Constitution of Switzerland. Upon their refusal, the Directory sent a French army-corps, under the command of General Schauenbourg, to reduce them to submission.

Though they were few in number, they were resolved to sell their lives dearly. Men, women, and children fought like lions, but had at last to succumb to the superior number, tactics, and weapons of their formidable enemies. The French soldiers were exasperated by this unexpected and obstinate resistance. They suffered serious losses, and in consequence gave no quarter, sparing neither age nor sex, and completing their work of destruction by devastating the district by fire.

In the meantime the old and infirm people had assembled in the church of Stanz, the chief town of the district, to pray with their priest, Luci, a venerable old man of sixty. This vast building, which served as a meeting place for the faithful of all the country round, stands in the principal square of the town, and is raised some four or five yards above the level of the road with which it is connected by a large flight of stone steps.

When the victors reached this square, General Corbineau, thinking that the church might prove a fresh centre of resistance, rode up the steps and entered the building, followed by his men. The priest, who was at the altar elevating the host, was shot dead, and an indescribable scene of terror and tumult followed. In spite of the efforts of a few humane officers, the work of revenge did not cease till the arrival of General Schauenbourg two days afterwards.

The Stanz disaster happened on the 9th of September, 1798; the first number of the *Popular Swiss News*, of which Pestalozzi was the editor, had appeared the day before.

Truttman, sub-prefect of Arth, and the agent of the Government in Lower Unterwalden, made a detailed inquiry into the losses resulting from this terrible event. We find them stated as follows in the report of the Minister of the Interior, Rengger:

"Dead: 259 men, 102 women, 25 children.[1]

"Buildings burnt: 340 dwelling-houses, 228 barns, 144 small out-houses.

"Approximate value of buildings and furniture destroyed: £85,000.

"Of the 350 people whose houses have been burnt, only 50 are in a position to rebuild with their own money; 97 others require more or less help; 203 have absolutely no means of building again.

"The most unfortunate, however, are the very large number who had no houses of their own, and have lost everything they possessed. Amongst these are 111 infirm old men; 169 orphans, not counting 77 who have been provided for by private charity in other cantons; and lastly, 237 other children who, without being orphans, are still practically homeless on account of the utter destitution of their families."

The Directory at once took steps to send help to these unfortunate people. On the 18th of November it was decided to found an orphan home in Stanz, and the ministers Stapfer and Rengger were instructed to prepare a plan and find a director for the establishment. They decided to make use of the outer premises of the women's convent, and part of the large field adjoining. But neither the heads of the convent nor the council of the canton were consulted in the matter, and this choice excited violent opposition. In consequence of the objections raised by the convent authorities, the council pointed out to the minister Stapfer the grave inconvenience of placing an orphan asylum in a building which was already used by the nuns as a girls' school, and of taking over out-buildings in which the servants lived who were charged with the management of the cattle and the estate. The Government, however, was firm, and its orders were carried out.

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[1] This first computation was undoubtedly incomplete, for the monument erected in Stanz cemetery in 1807 makes the number of dead 414.

At the same time Rengger had instructed the sub-prefect Truttman, and Meyer, Minister of Justice and Police, to try and find a man and his wife to take entire charge of the proposed establishment. But as they deemed it essential that the Director should be a Catholic, all their efforts were unsuccessful.

Meanwhile Pestalozzi was burning with the desire to go and be a father and teacher to the Unterwalden orphans; it seemed indeed almost a providential opportunity for putting into practice the ideas which had so long engrossed his attention. He accordingly informed directors Stapfer and Legrand of his wish.

To the latter he had already fully explained his views and plans, and he had done so the more freely and gladly that he had found him to be not only thoroughly sympathetic but in complete agreement with him.

A new plan presented by Pestalozzi was warmly recommended by Stapfer, Rengger, and Legrand, and on the 5th of December, 1798, the Directory issued a decree, the principle clauses of which were as follows:

"The immediate control of the poor-house at Stanz is entrusted to citizen Pestalozzi.

"Children of both sexes, taken from among the poorest, and especially from the orphans in the Stanz district, will be received in it and brought up gratuitously.

"Children will not be received before the age of five years; they will remain till they are fit to go into service, or to learn such a trade as could not be taught them in the establishment.

"The poor-house will be managed with all the care and economy that such an institution requires. The children will gradually be led to take part in all work necessary for the carrying on and support of the establishment. The time of the pupils will be divided between field-work, house-work, and study. An attempt will be made to develop in the pupils as much skill, and as many useful powers as the funds of the establishment will allow. So far as it is possible to do so without danger to the industrial results which are to be aimed at, a few lessons will be given during the manual labour.

"All the out-buildings of the women's convent at Stanz are to be devoted to the purposes of the establishment, as well as a certain portion of the adjoining meadow-land. These buildings will at once be repaired and fitted up for the reception of eighty pupils, according to the plans drawn up by citizen Schmidt, of Lucerne. For the founding of the asylum, the Minister of the Interior will, once for all, place a sum of two hundred and forty pounds at the disposal of the committee (Pestalozzi, Truttman, sub-prefect of Arth, and the priest Businger of Stanz)."

A new editor was at once found for the *Popular Swiss News*, and on the 7th of December Pestalozzi arrived in Stanz to superintend the repairs.

A few days later his wife wrote the following lines in her diary:

"In December, 1798, Pestalozzi went to Stanz to take charge of a number of children whose parents were killed in a sad combat because they would not accept the new Constitution. It is a great trouble to us all, to faithful Lisbeth, and our friends, as well as the children and myself, to see him undertake such a task at his age. When I told him of our anxiety, he answered:

"'My fate and yours will now be decided. If your husband has not been misunderstood, if he really deserves the scorn and neglect with which he has generally been treated, there is no hope for us. But if I have been unfairly judged, if I am really worth what I think I am, you will soon find me a comfort and support. But enough; your words stab me to the heart; I can no longer bear your incredulity. Write to me then hopefully. You have waited thirty years, will you not wait another three months? I have not yet any children here, but plenty of workmen. The Government are giving the undertaking wise support, and are showing me much good will."

The alterations and repairs had been begun at a bad time of year, and proceeded slowly; the winter was early and severe, and it was the middle of January before the first children were admitted.

At the same time there was much distress and suffering in the country, as is evident from the following extract from an official report made by the sub-prefect Truttman:

"The distress of the inhabitants of the Stanz district is indescribable; it increases every day, and affects more or less everybody. The many poor people whose former benefactors have lost all means of helping them have nothing to live upon beyond what they receive from the Government, and the alms which are sent to them from other cantons. Their sufferings in this extreme and prolonged cold are inexpressible; their small stock of potatoes is frozen, and they have no other food; there is already much sickness among them."

At last, on the 14th of January, 1799, Truttman wrote to Rengger:

"To-day the first children have been received into the orphanage. May God bless our good Government for this beneficent work. I look forward to the best results from it. It was not without deep emotion that I saw these poor ragged creatures rescued at last from their unhappy condition, and admitted into an establishment where their education and future independence will be properly provided for."

A few days later the numbers had reached fifty. Never did an educational institution open under such unfavourable conditions. So important was it to come at once to the rescue of these unfortunate children that they were admitted before the buildings were ready. There was nothing really habitable but one small room; all the others were full of plaster and rubbish; even the kitchen was not yet in order. The children, who were covered with sores and vermin, brought with them not only diseases, but deplorable habits and inveterate vices. To manage this household, to watch over the cleanliness, health, and education of these children, Pestalozzi was alone with one woman-servant.

We have before our eyes the first list of the children that Pestalozzi drew up and sent to the Directory, in which he mentions twenty-nine boys and sixteen girls. We will copy a few of the names, with the observations that accompany them:

"BOYS.

"1. Jacob Baggenstoss, fifteen, of Stanzstad; father dead, mother living; good health, little capacity; can do nothing else but spin cotton; accustomed to begging.

"2. Francis Joseph Businger, fourteen, of Stanz; father living, mother dead; good health, good capacity, and good manners; does not know his A B C, can spin cotton; very poor.

"3. Gaspard Joseph Waser, eleven, of Stanzstad; father living, mother dead; healthy, good capacity, but wild and ill-mannered; does not know his A B C; cannot spin; accustomed to begging.

"4. Charles, brother of the above, ten; same manners and same antecedents as his brother.

"26. Mathias Odermatt, eight, of Stanz; father killed, mother living; deformed and sickly, weak and idle, knows nothing; poor.

"27. Joseph Kueffer, nine, of Stanz; non-burgess; parents living; healthy, fair capacity, is beginning to spell, cannot spin; poor.

"28. Gaspard Stieer, eight, of Stanz; father killed, mother living; bad health, more than average capacity, unwilling to learn, is beginning the A B C, can spin; very poor.

"29. "Jacob Adacher, seven, of Kirsiten; father killed, mother living; healthy, timid, knows nothing; very poor.

"GIRLS.

"1. Anna Josephine Amstad, fifteen, of Stanz; father dead, mother living; healthy, fair capacity, is beginning to read, and can spin; extremely poor.

"2. Clara Waser, twelve, of Stanzstad; father living, mother dead; healthy, fair capacity, fond of study, does not know her A B C, can spin; accustomed to begging.

"3. Josephine Rieter, thirteen, of Stanz; father and mother both dead; healthy, average capacity, is beginning to read, can spin; extremely poor.

"4. Anna Maria Beutschgi, eleven, of Stanz; father banished, mother dead; healthy, exceedingly neglected, knows nothing, very bad habits; very poor.

"15. Barbara Spillmater, ten, of Stanz; father dead, mother living; healthy, good capacity, knows nothing, good habits; poor.

"16. Catherine Aieer, five, of Stanz; father killed, mother living; healthy, good capacity, knows nothing; poor."

In spite of all these obstacles, and in spite of the little practical ability of the director, the success was immediate, almost miraculous.

Scarcely a month had passed when Truttman, in his report to the minister Rengger, dated the 11th of February, 1799, wrote as follows:

"The poor-house is doing well. Pestalozzi works night and day. There are now seventy-two children in the establishment, though not more than fifty can stay all night, as there are not enough beds. It is astonishing to see how active this indefatigable man is, and how much progress his pupils have made in so short a time. They are now eager for instruction. In a few years the State will certainly be more than repaid for the sacrifices it is making for this useful institution. I hope the good nuns may soon go to heaven, or to some other convent."

This testimony is confirmed by the report that Businger made to the Directory in the same week, which runs as follows:

"The poor-house has started, and is going on well. More than seventy children have already been received, and every day brings more applications for admission. Citizen Pestalozzi works incessantly for the progress of the establishment, and it is hardly credible how far he has been able to bring his work in so short a time."

Pestalozzi, then, had surmounted the internal obstacles, those, that is, which he could attack directly, but there were others outside which compromised the final success of his work. These obstacles were, on the one hand, the distrust, ill-will, and even open opposition of the district he had come to help; on the other, the unsound opinions of men who were thought to be competent, but who, accustomed to the old educational tracks, and misunderstanding Pestalozzi's thought, condemned him the moment he deviated from the pattern on which they themselves were formed.

The people of Lower Unterwalden detested the unitary Government which had been the cause of their late misfortunes, and were convinced that it was only looking after their children for the purpose of winning them over to this new and hated Constitution. They were, besides, entirely and exclusively Catholic; never had a Protestant held the smallest office amongst them, much less an educational one, and in the eyes of most of them, the poor children, by being put under the care of the heretic Pestalozzi, were in danger of losing their souls.

At the same time the work of this man was like no other work of the same sort, because it consisted in putting into practice a new idea, and often necessitated the adoption of methods which were the direct opposite of those hitherto in use. For instance, Pestalozzi worked without any settled plan, without any apparent order, and without dividing his children into classes. He was constantly with them, giving proof of his affection for them in everything he did and watching to take advantage of the slightest manifestation of their faculties, powers, and good impulses, like a gardener who, in tending a young tree, waits for its shoots to appear before deciding how to train them. That is why he had not asked for help, and indeed no one could have been of much use to him, an experienced teacher least of all. At first he had neither books nor school material, nor did he ask for any, wishing nothing for his children, beyond the simple necessaries of life, but contact with himself and with Nature.

The system of which we have just given such an imperfect sketch, is set forth clearly and completely in the letter on his stay at Stanz, written by Pestalozzi to his friend Gessner. Our readers will find this letter farther on, for its account of its author's doctrine makes it of great importance. We have felt it better not to interrupt our account of the Stanz asylum, an account, it must be added, which is entirely based on official documents; but what we have just said as to Pestalozzi's method, was necessary for the understanding of the various judgments expressed about him while he was engaged in the work.

Visitors to the establishment, for instance, often saw nothing but disorder and confusion, with an entire absence, as it seemed, of all serious instruction.

At the same time the poor-committee, who felt that their chief duty was to put the children in the way of earning something as soon as possible, complained that time was being lost, and calculated the profit that might have been made by the manufacture of silk, an industry, however, for which there were absolutely no appliances.

The sub-prefect Truttman, a capable and well-meaning man, also failed to understand Pestalozzi's thought, and the higher end he had in view, being deceived by appearances. In his report to the minister, dated the 25th of March, 1799, he wrote as follows:

> "I must tell you frankly that the appointment of a bursar, the classification of the children, both for instruction and manual work, the installation of the necessary superintendents and masters, can no longer be put off without danger to this useful institution. If I were not confined to my room by a swollen foot, I should come to Lucerne to-morrow to speak freely to you about this important matter. I admire the zeal of citizen Pestalozzi, and his indefatigable activity in his work, and he certainly deserves our gratitude; but I foresee that he will be incapable of carrying out his ideas, and of giving the enterprise the carefully ordered development which is necessary for its success. Indeed, without a new organization, which shall take into consideration all the various needs of the establishment, it cannot succeed. This excellent man has both firmness and gentleness, but unfortunately he often uses them at the wrong time. I have frequently spoken with him on the subject. I begged him even to go to Zurich, to study in detail the organization of the poor-school in that town, with a view to copying it, as far as possible, in Stanz. He accordingly went, but I do not look for any satisfactory result from his visit, because his idea is to do everything himself, without any plan, and without any other aid than that of the children themselves. The establishment needs a larger staff. But where are helpers to be found? I beg of you, citizen minister, for the honour of the Government, and for the public good, to lay this matter to heart, and find a remedy before the evil is too great."

But the Directory would not allow Pestalozzi to be interfered with, and left him complete liberty of action. He was not happy, however, but suffered terribly, both from the hostility of the district where he had expected to find gratitude, and from the opposition that his work was exciting amongst the very people on whom he had relied for its support. In spite of his burning faith and courage, he feared at times that this new undertaking, which had filled him with such great hopes, would fail like the rest, and by its failure rob the idea that had engrossed his thoughts for the last thirty years, of all its value for himself, his country, and humanity.

This trouble comes out in the first report that he sent to the minister Rengger, which is dated the 19th of April, 1799, and is couched in these terms:

"Citizen Minister,—

"I know and feel that it is my duty not to leave you without information as to the progress of the institution, but I am oppressed by the weight of the many urgent things to be done, which can be done only by me. Unfortunately, what absorbs my strength is not the essential work of the establishment, but a multitude of minor details. In spite of the success of my efforts hitherto, I am powerless to do all I would, for want of a few paltry kitchen utensils, for which citizen Haas has kept me waiting for a fortnight without even noticing my applications. At the same time political animosity, which is beginning to make itself felt again here, is exercising a fatal influence on the children, and those who ought to try and check this animosity say that this is not the time to make people dissatisfied for the sake of an orphan asylum. I have already accomplished much, and I long for the time to come when you will be able to come and judge for yourself of the good results that have been obtained in an establishment which started amid so many difficulties, and especially of those which may confidently be looked forward to, if the work is continued on the same principles and on the same method. I shall endeavour shortly to draw up a clear account of the money I have received, and shall send it to you. Workmen here are very dear, and there are prejudices which prevent my always doing things in the cheapest manner; but I shall steadily continue to use my best efforts to carry out the objects of the institution as economically as possible.

"The hours of work and study are now fixed as follows: from six to eight, lessons; then manual work till four in the afternoon; then lessons again till eight. The health of the children is excellent. The difficulty of combining work and instruction grows less every day; the children are slowly learning to be orderly, and to apply themselves. You can imagine how much trouble it has taken to bring these neglected little mountain-children as far even as this. We are only the more pleased at having reached our end. Several children have had a sort of bilious, feverish cold, but are now almost well again. I am waiting impatiently for letters from Zurich on the subject of the assistants of both sexes of whom I stand in need; I should be glad, too, to be reassured by hearing that your views coincide with mine.

"Allow me to commend the institution and myself to your kind consideration.

"With respect and gratitude,

"PESTALOZZI."

In spite of everything the undertaking prospered. The children had arrived with sad, troubled faces, with eyes weary and timid, or bold and distrustful, some apathetic, some rebellious. But they had undergone the same transformation as Nature when she revives under the breath of spring, and were now joyful, unrestrained, eager, active, gentle, and kind.

The 24th of May, 1799, was a great day for the institution and its director. On that day Pestalozzi took his whole establishment to Lucerne, where they were welcomed by the Executive Directory, the highest authority in Switzerland, each child receiving a new silver coin worth a little more than a shilling. It is evident from this that the director Legrand had paid little heed to Pestalozzi's detractors.

Unfortunately, the institution was near its end. It contained eighty children and was in full prosperity, when, a fortnight after the excursion to Lucerne, unforeseen events made its further existence impossible.

The chances of the war brought the French troops once more into the canton. They had a great number of sick with them, and Zschokke, the Government agent, could find no other place for a hospital but Pestalozzi's orphanage. On the 8th of June, 1799, sixty of the children were sent away, homes being found for them in different families. This left only twenty in the establishment. Under these circumstances Pestalozzi himself was unwilling to stay. He gave two suits of clothes and a little money to each child who had been sent away, put the furniture in safety in Lucerne, and handed over to Zschokke what money he had left, amounting to rather more than a hundred pounds.

Then, utterly broken down in health, he retired to the Gurnigel for the waters. He had worked far beyond his strength, and was so worn out that he spat blood.

The Directory only heard of these events when they were already accomplished facts, and in its sitting of the 17th of June, 1799, it granted Pestalozzi a small sum of money (about twenty-five pounds) for his services in connection with the Stanz institution.

The orders given by Zschokke, Pestalozzi's departure, and the subsequent final closing of the establishment, blamed by some, approved by others, gave rise to much angry discussion, in which the facts were often considerably strained. For the sake of making known the real truth of the matter, we shall continue to quote from authentic documents.

For instance, Zschokke, in his report to the minister Rengger of the 28th of June, 1799, says:

"I have not closed the Stanz orphanage, that noble monument of Swiss beneficence; I have simply reduced the number of children. Such an establishment deserves to be maintained even amid the troubles of the war; I, at least, will not be the one to suppress it. The large number of soldiers to be lodged, the absence of any place fit for a hospital for the sick and wounded defenders of our country, the anxiety of the parents who, on the approach of the war, asked to be allowed to take their children till the danger had passed, these and a hundred other reasons made it imperative that the numbers of the establishment should be reduced. In accordance with my strict injunctions, no children have been sent away, save those whose parents or friends assured either Pestalozzi or myself that they would be properly looked after for a time. Pestalozzi gave them each a change of clothes, some linen, and a little money. At the present moment there still remain in the establishment twenty-two children of both sexes. Citizen van Matt,[1] a member of the Stanz municipality, and a kind, fatherly man, has undertaken to superintend the establishment for nothing. He visits it several times a day. The greatest attention is paid to cleanliness and order. The Capuchin friars take turns in teaching the children reading, writing, and religion.

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[1] Van Matt was a blacksmith.

"It is a real pleasure to me to see these little ones in their tidy rooms, with health, joy, and innocence so clearly expressed in their faces. Their appearance alone is reward enough for those who founded the establishment. Here, too, Pestalozzi, by his generous activity, has raised himself a monument which can never be forgotten."

We feel that we ought to supplement the details contained in this report by what Zschokke wrote five years afterwards in his *History of the Memorable Facts of the Swiss Revolution*, 1804, vol. ii. p. 259:

"One of the first unfortunate consequences of the return of the French to Unterwalden was that, for want of a better place for a hospital, that part of the out-buildings of the women's convent at Stanz in which the noble Pestalozzi was living with his orphans, had to be made over to them. Even if it had been possible to save the orphanage, by putting the sick into one of the crowded houses in the town that had escaped the fire, the military authorities would never have consented to it. Pestalozzi realized this painful necessity, and yielded to it, though not without sorrow. . . .

"With Pestalozzi disappeared the spirit of his teaching. The orphans, however, were still carefully taught, and such matters as order and cleanliness, which had previously been somewhat neglected, received particular attention. Van Matt deserves the highest praise for the zeal with which he undertook the general superintendence of the establishment. He received valuable help from the parish priest Businger."

On the 4th of July, 1799, the sub-prefect Truttman wrote to Rengger:

"It was only a few days afterwards that I heard of the break up of the Stanz orphanage. It was simply the result of the general terror. There are still twenty-two children in the establishment. For their support, citizen Van Matt a most honourable man, whom the municipality have made superintendent, has asked me for dried fruits, potatoes, and peas, which I have accordingly sent him. I must ask you, citizen minister, to give me definite instructions as to whether I am to continue to furnish provisions to the establishment, and generally as to what I am expected to do for it."

The same year, in the month of August, Zschokke wrote to the Directory asking that, as the scene of war had once more shifted from Stanz, the orphanage there should be revived and submitted to a thorough reorganization, and that its management should be entrusted to himself and Truttman.

This request was granted, but the thorough reorganization was slow in coming, for on the 16th of September, 1799, Truttman wrote:

"The poor-school now contains forty children, boys and girls, but everything necessary for carrying out the purpose for which it was founded is absolutely wanting. The children are fed, and that is all!"

At last, in October, Zschokke presented his scheme for reorganization, which was little more than a consideration of the best way of providing funds for the institution, so as to make it as small a burden as possible to the national budget. He proposed that the expense should no longer fall upon the Government, but that it should be met partly by the convent estate, and partly by the profits of a cotton mill in which the children would be employed. Of the internal organization, looked at from the intellectual and moral point of view, he said nothing.

In the report which accompanied this scheme, we read:

"There are now thirty-eight children of both sexes in the orphanage. I have made the town-councillor Van Matt inspector. He has hitherto carried out his duties gratuitously. He visits the establishment every day, looks after the accounts, the purchases, the order of the children, etc.

"I have, besides, employed a poor, honest citizen, Remigi Gut, who sleeps in the school, is constantly with the children, and gives them reading and writing lessons four hours a day.

I have had some models prepared for him by my secretary, and have furnished him with a few books. I have told him that if he succeeds in making the children apply themselves to their work, he may hope to receive a small salary in addition to his keep."

The state of the institution, however, continued very much the same as we find it in Truttman's letter of the 16th of September, quoted above. This is evident from the following memorial addressed to the Directory in November, 1799, by Businger:

"The first thing to which I am anxious to call your attention, citizen directors, is the orphanage at Stanz. This useful institution is your work; it is to your fatherliness that it owes its existence. But as it exists at present, and indeed as it has existed for some time already, it does none of the good that it was expected to do, and seems in danger of coming to an end even before its good results have been made known. Citizen Pestalozzi undertook the direction of this orphan-home with the best possible intentions, and with an exemplary activity; but his disposition had been embittered by many misfortunes, and this, combined with the weakness which resulted from his age, with his neglect of externals, and with many mistakes into which he had fallen from the very beginning, prevented the institution from ever being in a position to realize its objects, and made all clear-sighted men long to see the good Pestalozzi anywhere else but there. When the French made Stanz their head-quarters, and took the rooms of the orphanage for their military hospital, most of the children had to be sent away, and Pestalozzi himself withdrew. But after the departure of the French, the poorest orphans were taken back again into the vacant rooms. A worthy member of our town-council temporarily undertook their superintendence. As many as forty poor children are thus provided with a very comfortable home, where they are fed, and taught reading and writing; but the whole establishment shows signs that ruin is imminent, and in truth I shall see it come to an end without much regret."

Businger's memorial was sent to the minister Stapfer to be reported on. His report, which was in French, was entirely favourable to Pestalozzi, and runs as follows:

"The memorial of citizen Businger begins by insinuating that citizen Pestalozzi was not fitted to be the director of this institution.

"I regret to say that, in consequence of prejudices, of which I cannot now examine either the source or the nature, this excellent and well-known old man has reason to be greatly dissatisfied with the treatment he has received at the hands of citizens Zschokke and Businger. By their exaggerated complaints they have paralyzed an establishment which promised to be very useful to the country.

"They accuse Pestalozzi of being wasteful, dirty, and brutal, and of having lost the affections of his pupils."

Stapfer then examines these different charges in detail, and refutes them one after the other by citing certain well-known facts. After referring again to Pestalozzi's views, and to the good that might be effected by their realization, he concludes as follows:

"In my opinion, it is important that citizen Pestalozzi should be restored to the post which the misfortunes of the war have compelled him to give up."

Meanwhile, rest and the waters of the Gurnigel had restored the old man's health, and he was now eager to return to Stanz to continue his interrupted work.

"I could not," he said, "live without my work; I was like a man who rests for a few moments on a rock in the sea, impatient all the time to go on swimming."

In spite of his burning desire, in spite of all Stapfer's efforts, the Directory did not send Pestalozzi back to Stanz, but allowed the orphanage to be closed.

In our opinion, this action of the Directory was most fortunate both for Pestalozzi and for education.

The noble old man had undertaken a task which was beyond his strength. It had already nearly brought him to death's door, and he certainly would not have been able to carry it on much longer. He encountered, besides, the most violent opposition. Most of the inhabitants of Unterwalden saw in him nothing but an agent of revolutionaries and heretics. They easily believed all the calumnies of which he was the object, and instead of looking on his presence as a blessing, endured it as an unjust punishment fraught with danger to their country. Under these circumstances, he could do them but little good; for it is almost impossible to help people against their will.

A priest named Gut, living in Stanz, has since re-echoed his countrymen's grievances against Pestalozzi in a book entitled, *The Surprise-attack on Lower Unterwalden: its Causes and its Consequences.* At page 579, he says that the choice of Pestalozzi was a mischievous action on the part of the Directory; that he kept the best of everything for himself and his servant, and fed the children badly; that he dressed them like convicts; that their eyes lacked lustre, and their cheeks colour; that they were chiefly taught to imitate the cries of animals; that he took away the furniture from Stanz for his institute at Burgdorf, etc.

But as Mr. Gut was only a child of five when Pestalozzi left Stanz, his accusations are evidently nothing more than the repetition of what was said around him, and are scarcely worth refuting.

As we thought it would be interesting, however, to ascertain with what feelings Pestalozzi was still remembered in the district for which he well-nigh sacrificed his life, we made inquiries at Stanz at a time when several old men, who remembered the poor-school, were still living. But all they told us was mere hearsay; none of them could give us any positive facts.

They had heard, for instance, that the Directory had sent Pestalozzi to Lower Unterwalden to destroy the very religion for which its inhabitants had fought; that the priest Businger had been much blamed for helping to found the orphanage; that Pestalozzi's manners and appearance were a sufficient proof that he was incapable; and further, that he was mortally afraid of the Austrians, and at the news of their approach had fled hastily in the night.

We also had an interview with Mr. Gut himself, whose opinions seemed to us to have undergone considerable modification since the publication of his book, for he did not repeat any of the charges mentioned above, and only spoke of Pestalozzi in becoming terms. Two grievances, however, he still thought well founded. The first was that the teaching of the Catholic religion was too much neglected in the school. Yet he could quote nothing in any of Pestalozzi's utterances opposed to it, and could only say that he was reported to have once said to the children, "Crucifixes will not give you bread; you must learn to work." The second grievance was that he sometimes corrected the children by striking them with a rope.

To sum up, it seems to us that it was a mistake to send Pestalozzi to Stanz, as he could not avoid hurting the religious feelings of the people he was expected to help. The opposition he excited was not only quite natural, but, from the point of view of the people themselves, was even legitimate and meritorious, and ought to have been foreseen. It may be said that for five months he did but struggle against the difficulties of an untenable position, and it is lucky that, when he recovered from the illness which so nearly proved fatal, he was not allowed to continue his heroic efforts.

The folly of unitarism did much harm to Switzerland, and yet, since God is able to bring good out of evil, it gave rise to an era of true progress. In the same way the folly of Stanz resulted in the primary school of the nineteenth century, an institution which has already brought no small increase of strength and prosperity to those nations that have adopted it.

Pestalozzi's experiences at Stanz, their value for his observant mind, the principles his genius deduced from them for a natural and logical method of elementary education, the whole picture, in short, of the birth of a great, fruitful, and salutary reform, is to be found in the letter written from the Gurnigel, and addressed by Pestalozzi to his friend Gessner, the bookseller, the son of the author of the *Idylls*. This letter, in which he gives an account of his work at Stanz, was printed for the first time in 1807, in the *Weekly Journal for the Education of Humanity*, and then in the edition of Pestalozzi's works published by Cotta (vol. ix.). It was afterwards reprinted in the complete edition by Seyffarth. Parts of it have often been quoted by different biographers, who have copied them from each other. Its great importance compels us to give it here in its entirety.

Letter from Pestalozzi to a friend on his work at Stanz.

"My friend, once more I awake from a dream; once more I see my work destroyed, and my failing strength wasted.

"But, however weak and unfortunate my attempt may have been, a friend of humanity will not grudge a few moments to consider the reasons which convince me that some day a more fortunate posterity will certainly take up the thread of my hopes at the place where it is now broken.

"From its very beginning I looked on the Revolution as a simple consequence of the corruption of human nature, and on the evils which it produced as a necessary means of bringing men back to a sense of the conditions which are essential to their happiness.

"Although I was by no means prepared to accept all the political forms that a body of such men as the revolutionists might make for themselves, I was inclined to look upon certain points of their Constitution not only as useful measures protecting important interests, but as suggesting the principles upon which all true progress of humanity must be based.

"I once more made known, therefore, as well as I could, my old wishes for the education of the people. In particular, I laid my whole scheme before Legrand (then one of the directors), who not only took a warm interest in it, but agreed with me that the Republic stood in urgent need of a reform of public education. He also agreed with me that much might be done for the regeneration of the people by giving a certain number of the poorest children an education which should be complete, but which, far from lifting them out of their proper sphere, would but attach them the more strongly to it.

"I limited my desires to this one point, Legrand helping me in every possible way. He even thought my views so important that he once said to me: 'I shall not willingly give up my present post till you have begun your work.'

"As I have explained my plan for the public education of the poor in the third and fourth parts of *Leonard and Gertrude*, I need not repeat it here. I submitted it to the director Stapfer, with all the enthusiasm of a man who felt that his hopes were about to be realized, and he encouraged me with an earnestness which showed how thoroughly he understood the needs of popular education. It was the same with the minister Rengger.

"It was my intention to try to find near Zurich or in Aargau a place where I should be able to join industry and agriculture to the other means of instruction, and so give my establishment all the development necessary to its complete success. But the Unterwalden disaster (September, 1798) left me no further choice in the matter. The Government felt the urgent need of sending help to this unfortunate district, and begged me for this once to make an attempt to put my plans into execution in a place where almost everything that could have made it a success was wanting.

"I went there gladly. I felt that the innocence of the people would make up for what was wanting, and that their distress would, at any rate, make them grateful.

"My eagerness to realize at last the great dream of my life would have led me to work on the very highest peaks of the Alps, and, so to speak, without fire or water.

"For a house, the Government made over to me the new part of the Ursuline convent at Stanz, but when I arrived it was still uncompleted, and not in any way fitted to receive a large number of children. Before anything else could be done, then, the house itself had to be got ready. The Government gave the necessary orders, and Rengger pushed on the work with much zeal and useful activity. I was never indeed allowed to want for money.

"In spite, however, of the admirable support I received, all this preparation took time, and time was precisely what we could least afford, since it was of the highest importance that a number of children, whom the war had left homeless and destitute, should be received at once.

"I was still without everything but money when the children arrived; neither kitchen, rooms, nor beds were ready to receive them. At first this was a source of inconceivable confusion. For the first few weeks I was shut up in a very small room; the weather was bad, and the alterations, which made a great dust and filled the corridors with rubbish, rendered the air very unhealthy.

"The want of beds compelled me at first to send some of the poor children home at night; these children generally came back the next day covered with vermin. Most of them on their arrival were very degenerated specimens of humanity. Many of them had a sort of chronic skin-disease, which almost prevented their walking, or sores on their heads, or rags full of vermin; many were almost skeletons, with haggard, careworn faces, and shrinking looks; some brazen, accustomed to begging, hypocrisy, and all sorts of deceit; others broken by misfortune, patient, suspicious, timid, and entirely devoid of affection. There were also some spoilt children amongst them who had known the sweets of comfort, and were therefore full of pretensions. These kept to themselves, affected to despise the little beggars their comrades, and to suffer from this equality, and seemed to find it impossible to adapt themselves to the ways of the house, which differed too much from their old habits. But what was common to them all was a persistent idleness, resulting from their want of physical and mental activity. Out of every ten children there was hardly one who knew his A B C; as for any other knowledge, it was, of course, out of the question.

"This complete ignorance was what troubled me least, for I trusted in the natural powers that God bestows on even the poorest and most neglected children. I had observed for a long time that behind their coarseness, shyness, and apparent incapacity, are hidden the finest faculties, the most precious powers; and now, even amongst these poor creatures by whom I was surrounded at Stanz, marked natural abilities soon began to show themselves. I knew how useful the common needs of life are in teaching men the relations of things, in bringing out their natural intelligence, in forming their judgment, and in arousing faculties which, buried, as it were, beneath the coarser elements of their nature, cannot become active and useful till they are set free. It was my object then to arouse these faculties, and bring them to bear on the pure and simple circumstances of domestic life, for I was convinced that in this way I should be able to form the hearts and minds of children almost as I wished.

"Now that I had an opportunity of carrying out this object, I felt sure that my affection would change the nature of my children as quickly as the sun changes the frozen earth in spring; nor was I wrong, for before the snow of our mountains had melted the children were no longer the same.

"But I must not anticipate. Just as in the evening I often mark the quick growth of the gourd by the side of the house, so I want you to mark the growth of my plant; and, my friend, I will not hide from you the worm which sometimes eats into its leaves, sometimes even into its heart.

"I opened the establishment with no other helper but a woman-servant. I had not only to teach the children, but to look after their physical needs. I preferred being alone, and, indeed, it was the only way to reach my end. No one in the world would have cared to fall in with my views for the education of children, and at that time I knew scarcely any one capable even of understanding them. The better the education of the men who might have helped me, the less their power of understanding me and of confining themselves, even in theory, to the simple beginnings to which I sought to return. All their views as to the organization and needs of the enterprise were entirely different from mine. What they especially disagreed with was the idea that such an undertaking could be carried out without the help of any artificial means, but simply by the influence exercised on the children by Nature, and by the activity to which they were aroused by the needs of their daily life.

"And yet it was precisely upon this idea that I based my chief hope of success; it was, as it were, a basis for innumerable other points of view.

"Experienced teachers, then, could not help me; still less boorish, ignorant men. I had nothing to put into the hands of assistants to guide them, nor any results or apparatus by which I could make my ideas clearer to them.

"Thus, whether I would or no, I had first to make my experiment alone, and collect facts to illustrate the essential features of my system before I could venture to look for outside help. Indeed, in my then position, nobody could help me. I knew that I must help myself and shaped my plans accordingly.

"I wanted to prove by my experiment that if public education is to have any real value, it must imitate the methods which make the merit of domestic education; for it is my opinion that if public education does not take into consideration the circumstances of family life, and everything else that bears on a man's general education, it can only lead to an artificial and methodical dwarfing of humanity.

"In any good education, the mother must be able to judge daily, nay hourly, from the child's eyes, lips, and face, of the slightest change in his soul. The power of the educator, too, must be that of a father, quickened by the general circumstances of domestic life.

"Such was the foundation upon which I built. I determined that there should not be a minute in the day when my children should not be aware from my face and my lips that my heart was theirs, that their happiness was my happiness, and their pleasures my pleasures.

"Man readily accepts what is good, and the child readily listens to it; but it is not for you that he wants it, master and educator, but for himself. The good to which you would lead him must not depend on your capricious humour or passion; it must be a good which is good in itself and by the nature of things, and which the child can recognize as good. He must feel the necessity of your will in things which concern his comfort before he can be expected to obey it.

"Whenever he does anything gladly, anything that brings him honour, anything that helps to realize any of his great hopes, or stimulates his powers, and enables him to say with truth, *I can*, then he is exercising his will.

"The will, however, cannot be stimulated by mere words; its action must depend upon those feelings and powers which are the result of general culture. Words alone cannot give us a knowledge of things; they are only useful for giving expression to what we have in our mind.

"The first thing to be done was to win the confidence and affection of the children. I was sure that if I succeeded in doing that, all the rest would follow of itself. Think for a moment of the prejudices of the people, and even of the children, and you will understand the difficulties with which I had to contend.

"The unfortunate country had suffered all the horrors of war. Most of the inhabitants detested the new constitution, and were not only exasperated with the Government, but suspicious of its offered help. Opposed by the natural melancholy of their character to anything new coming from outside, they held fast, with bitter and defiant obstinacy, to everything connected with their former condition, wretched as it was in many respects. To these people I was simply an agent of the new order of things. They looked on me as a mere instrument, working not for them, but for the men who were the cause of their misfortunes, and whose opinions, views, and plans were entirely opposed to their own. This political distrust was strengthened by a no less deep religious distrust. I was a heretic, and so all my efforts to do good could only imperil their children's souls. Amongst them no Protestant had ever held the smallest public office; what must they have felt, then, on seeing one made a teacher of children? To make matters worse, religious and political passion in Stanz was just then excited to an unusually high degree.

"Think, my friend, of this temper of the people, of my weakness, of my poor appearance, of the ill-will to which I was almost publicly exposed, and then judge how much I had to endure for the sake of carrying on my work.

"And yet, however painful this want of help and support was to me, it was favourable to the success of my undertaking, for it compelled me to be always everything for my children. I was alone with them from morning till night. It was my hand that supplied all their wants, both of body and soul. All needful help, consolation, and instruction they received direct from me. Their hands were in mine, my eyes were fixed on theirs.

"We wept and smiled together. They forgot the world and Stanz; they only knew that they were with me and I with them. We shared our food and drink. I had neither family, friends, nor servants; nothing but them. I was with them in sickness, and in health, and when they slept. I was the last to go to bed, and the first to get up. In the bedroom I prayed with them, and, at their own request, taught them till they fell asleep. Their clothes and bodies were intolerably filthy, but I looked after both myself, and was thus constantly exposed to the risk of contagion.

"This is how it was that these children gradually became so attached to me, some indeed so deeply that they contradicted their parents and friends when they heard evil things said about me. They felt that I was being treated unfairly, and loved me, I think, the more for it. But of what avail is it for the young nestlings to love their mother when the bird of prey that is bent on destroying them is constantly hovering near?

"However, the first results of these principles and of this line of action were not always satisfactory, nor, indeed, could they be so. The children did not always understand my love. Accustomed to idleness, unbounded liberty, and the fortuitous and lawless pleasures of an almost wild life, they had come to the convent in the expectation of being well fed, and of having nothing to do. Some of them soon discovered that they had been there long enough, and wanted to go away again; they talked of the school fever that attacks children when they are kept employed all day long. This dissatisfaction, which showed itself during the first months, resulted principally from the fact that many of them were ill, the consequence either of the sudden change of diet and habits, or of the severity of the weather and the dampness of the building in which we lived. We all coughed a great deal, and several children were seized with a peculiar sort of fever.

"This fever, which always began with sickness, was very general in the district. Cases of sickness, however, not followed by fever, were not at all rare, and were an almost natural consequence of the change of food. Many people attributed the fever to bad food, but the facts soon showed them to be wrong, for not a single child succumbed.

"On the return of spring it was evident to everybody that the children were all doing well, growing rapidly, and gaining colour. Certain magistrates and ecclesiastics, who saw them some time afterwards, stated that they had improved almost beyond recognition.

"A few of the children, however, continued in ill-health for some time, and the influence of the parents was not favourable to their recovery. 'Poor child, how ill you look! I am sure I could look after you at home as well as you are looked after here. Come away with me.' That was the sort of thing said by women who were in the habit of begging from door to door. On Sundays, especially, numbers of parents used to come and openly pity their children till they made them cry, and then urge them to go away. I lost a great many in this way; and though their places were soon filled by others, you can understand how bad these constant changes were for an establishment that was only just beginning.

"Many parents thought they were doing me a personal favour by leaving the children with me, and even asked the Capuchins whether it was because I had no other means of subsistence that I was so anxious to have pupils. It was the general opinion amongst these people that poverty alone could have induced me to give myself so much trouble, an opinion which came out in their behaviour towards me.

"Some asked me for money to make up for what they had lost by their children being no longer able to beg; others, hat on head, informed me that they did not mind trying a few days longer; others, again, laid down their own conditions.

"Months passed in this way before I had the satisfaction of having my hand grasped by a single grateful parent. But the children were won over much sooner. They even wept sometimes when their parents met me or left me without a word of salutation. Several of them were perfectly happy, and used to say to their mothers: 'I am more comfortable here than at home.' At home, indeed, as they readily told me when we talked alone, they had been ill-used and beaten, and had often had neither bread to eat nor bed to lie down upon. And yet these same children would sometimes go off with their mothers the very next morning.

"A good many others, however, soon saw that by staying with me they might both learn something and become something, and these never failed in their zeal and attachment. Before very long their conduct was imitated by others, though not always from the same considerations.

"Those who ran away were the worst in character and the least capable. But they were not incited to go till they were free of their vermin and their rags. Several were sent to me with no other purpose than that of being taken away again as soon as they were clean and well clothed.

"But after a time their better judgment overcame the defiant hostility with which they arrived. In 1799 I had nearly eighty children. Most of them were bright and intelligent, some even remarkably so.

"For most of them study was something entirely new. As soon as they found that they could learn, their zeal was indefatigable, and in a few weeks children who had never before opened a book, and could hardly repeat a *Pater Noster* or an *Ave*, would study the whole day long with the keenest interest. Even after supper, when I used to say to them, 'Children, will you go to bed, or learn something?' they would generally answer, especially in the first month or two, 'Learn something.' It is true that afterwards, when they had to get up very early, it was not quite the same.

"But this first eagerness did much towards starting the establishment on the right lines, and making the studies the success they ultimately were, a success, indeed, which far surpassed my expectations. And yet the difficulties in the way of introducing a well-ordered system of studies were at that time almost insurmountable.

"Neither my trust nor my zeal had as yet been able to overcome either the intractability of individuals or the want of coherence in the whole experiment. The general order of the establishment, I felt, must be based upon order of a higher character. As this higher order did not yet exist, I had to attempt to create it; for without this foundation I could not hope to organize properly either the teaching or the general management of the place, nor should I have wished to do so. I wanted everything to result not from a preconceived plan, but from my relations with the children. The high principles and educating forces I was seeking, I looked for from the harmonious common life of my children, from their attention, activity, and needs. It was not, then, from any external organization that I looked for the regeneration of which they stood so much in need. If I had employed constraint, regulations and lectures, I should, instead of winning and ennobling my children's hearts, have repelled them and made them bitter, and thus been farther than ever from my aim. First of all, I had to arouse in them pure, moral, and noble feelings, so that afterwards, in external things, I might be sure of their ready attention, activity, and obedience. I had, in short, to follow the high precept of Jesus Christ, 'Cleanse first that which is within, that the outside may be clean also'; and if ever the truth of this precept was made manifest, it was made manifest then.

"My one aim was to make their new life in common, and their new powers, awaken a feeling of brotherhood amongst the children, and make them affectionate, just, and considerate.

"I reached this end without much difficulty. Amongst these seventy wild beggar-children there soon existed such peace, friendship, and cordial relations as are rare even between actual brothers and sisters.

"The principle to which I endeavoured to conform all my conduct was as follows: Endeavour, first, to broaden your children's sympathies, and, by satisfying their daily needs, to bring love and kindness into such unceasing contact with their impressions and their activity, that these sentiments may be engrafted in their hearts; then try to give them such judgment and tact as will enable them to make a wise, sure, and abundant use of these virtues in the circle which surrounds them. In the last place, do not hesitate to touch on the difficult questions of good and evil, and the words connected with them. And you must do this especially in connection with the ordinary events of every day, upon which your whole teaching in these matters must be founded, so that the children may be reminded of their own feelings, and supplied, as it were, with solid facts upon which to base their conception of the beauty and justice of the moral life. Even though you should have to spend whole nights in trying to express in two words what others say in twenty, never regret the loss of sleep.

"I gave my children very few explanations; I taught them neither morality nor religion. But sometimes, when they were perfectly quiet, I used to say to them, 'Do you not think that you are better and more reasonable when you are like this than when you are making a noise?' When they clung round my neck and called me their father, I used to say, 'My children, would it be right to deceive your father? After kissing me like this, would you like to do anything behind my back to vex me?' When our talk turned on the misery of the country, and they were feeling glad at the thought of their own happier lot, I would say, 'How good God is to have given man a compassionate heart!' Sometimes, too, I asked them if they did not see a great difference between a Government that cares for the poor and teaches them to earn a livelihood, and one that leaves them to their idleness and vice, with beggary and the workhouse for sole resource.

"Often I drew them a picture of the happiness of a simple, peaceful household, that by economy and hard work has provided for all its wants, and put itself in a position to give advice to the ignorant, and help to the unfortunate. When they pressed round me, I used to ask the best of them, even during the first few months, whether they would not like to live like me, and have a number of unfortunate children about them to take care of and turn into useful men. The depth of their feelings would even bring tears to their eyes, as they answered, 'Ah, if I could only do that!'

"What encouraged them most was the thought of not always remaining poor, but of some day taking their place again amongst their fellows, with knowledge and talents that should make them useful, and win them the esteem of other men. They felt that, owing to my care, they made more progress in this respect than other children; they perfectly understood that all they did was but a preparation for their future activity, and they looked forward to happiness as the certain result of their perseverance. That is why steady application soon became easy to them, its object being in perfect accordance with their wishes and their hopes. Virtue, my friend, is developed by this agreement, just as the young plant thrives when the soil suits its nature, and supplies the needs of its tender shoots.

"I witnessed the growth of an inward strength in my children, which, in its general development, far surpassed my expectations, and in its particular manifestations not only often surprised me, but touched me deeply.

"When the neighbouring town of Altdorf was burnt down, I gathered the children round me, and said, 'Altdorf has been burnt down; perhaps, at this very moment, there are a hundred children there without home, food, or clothes; will you not ask our good Government to let twenty of them come and live with us?' I still seem to see the emotion with which they answered, 'Oh, yes, yes!' 'But, my children,' I said, 'think well of what you are asking! Even now we have scarcely money enough, and it is not at all certain that if these poor children came to us, the Government would give us any more than they do at present, so that you might have to work harder, and share your clothes with these children, and sometimes perhaps go without food. Do not say, then, that you would like them to come unless you are quite prepared for all these consequences.' After having spoken to them in this way as seriously as I could, I made them repeat all I had said, to be quite sure that they had thoroughly understood what the consequences of their request would be. But they were not in the least shaken in their decision, and all repeated, 'Yes, yes, we are quite ready to work harder, eat less, and share our clothes, for we want them to come.'

"Some refugees from the Grisons having given me a few crowns for my poor children, I at once called them, and said, 'These men are obliged to leave their country; they hardly know where they will find a home to-morrow, yet, in spite of their trouble, they have given me this for you. Come and thank them.' The emotion of the children at these words brought tears to the eyes of the refugees.

"It was in this way that I strove to awaken the feeling of each virtue before talking about it, for I thought it unwise to talk to children on subjects which would compel them to speak without thoroughly understanding what they were saying.

"I followed up this awakening of the sentiments by exercises intended to teach the children self-control, and interest the best natures amongst them in the practical questions of every-day life.

"It will easily be understood that, in this respect, it was not possible to organize any system of discipline for the establishment; that could only come slowly, as the general work developed.

"Silence, as an aid to application, is perhaps the great secret of such an institution. I found it very useful to insist on silence when I was teaching, and also to pay particular attention to the attitude of my children. The result was that the moment I asked for silence, I could teach in quite a low voice. The children repeated my words all together; and as there was no other sound, I was able to detect the slightest mistakes of pronunciation. It is true that this was not always so. Sometimes, whilst they repeated sentences after me, I would ask them half in fun to keep their eyes fixed on their middle fingers. It is hardly credible how useful simple things of this sort sometimes are as means to the very highest ends.

"One young girl, for instance, who had been little better than a savage, by keeping her head and body upright, and not looking about, made more progress in her moral education than any one would have believed possible.

"These experiences have shown me that the mere habit of carrying oneself well does much more for the education of the moral sentiments than any amount of teaching and lectures in which this simple fact is ignored.

"Thanks to the application of these principles, my children soon became more open, more contented and more susceptible to every good and noble influence than any one could possibly have foreseen when they first came to me, so utterly devoid were they of ideas, good feelings, and moral principles. As a matter of fact, this lack of previous instruction was not a serious obstacle to me; indeed, it hardly troubled me at all. I am inclined even to say that, in the simple method I was following, it was often an advantage, for I had incomparably less trouble to develop those children whose minds were still blank, than those who had already acquired a few more or less correct ideas. The former, too, were much more open than the latter to the influence of all pure and simple sentiments.

"But when the children were obdurate and churlish, then I was severe, and made use of corporal punishment.

"My dear friend, the pedagogical principle which says that we must win the hearts and minds of our children by words alone, without having recourse to corporal punishment, is certainly good, and applicable under favourable conditions and circumstances; but with children of such widely different ages as mine, children for the most part beggars, and all full of deeply-rooted faults, a certain amount of corporal punishment was inevitable, especially as I was anxious to arrive surely, speedily, and by the simplest means, at gaining an influence over them all, for the sake of putting them all in the right road. I was compelled to punish them, but it would be a mistake to suppose that I thereby, in any way, lost the confidence of my pupils.

"It is not the rare and isolated actions that form the opinions and feelings of children, but the impressions of every day and every hour. From such impressions they judge whether we are kindly disposed towards them or not, and this settles their general attitude towards us. Their judgment of isolated actions depends upon this general attitude.

"This is how it is that punishments inflicted by parents rarely make a bad impression. But it is quite different with schoolmasters and teachers who are not with their children night and day, and have none of those relations with them which result from life in common.

"My punishments never produced obstinacy; the children I had beaten were quite satisfied if a moment afterwards I gave them my hand and kissed them, and I could read in their eyes that the final effect of my blows was really joy. The following is a striking instance of the effect this sort of punishment sometimes had. One day one of the children I liked best, taking advantage of my affection, unjustly threatened one of his companions. I was very indignant, and my hand did not spare him. He seemed at first almost brokenhearted, and cried bitterly for at least a quarter of an hour. When I had gone out, however, he got up, and going to the boy he had ill-treated, begged his pardon, and thanked him for having spoken about his bad conduct. My friend, this was no comedy; the child had never seen anything like it before.

"It was impossible that this sort of treatment should produce a bad impression on my children, because all day long I was giving them proofs of my affection and devotion. They could not misread my heart, and so they did not misjudge my actions. It was not the same with the parents, friends, strangers, and teachers who visited us, but that was natural. But I cared nothing for the opinion of the whole world, provided my children understood me.

"I always did my best, therefore, to make them clearly understand the motives of my actions in all matters likely to excite their attention and interest. This, my friend, brings me to the consideration of the moral means to be employed in a truly domestic education.

"Elementary moral education, considered as a whole, includes three distinct parts: the children's moral sense must first be aroused by their feelings being made active and pure; then they must be exercised in self-control, and taught to take interest in whatever is just and good; finally, they must be brought to form for themselves, by reflection and comparison, a just notion of the moral rights and duties which are theirs by reason of their position and surroundings.

"So far, I have pointed out some of the means I employed to reach the first two of these ends. They were just as simple for the third; for I still made use of the impressions and experiences of their daily life to give my children a true and exact idea of right and duty. When, for instance, they made a noise, I appealed to their own judgment, and asked them if it was possible to learn under such conditions. I shall never forget how strong and true I generally found their sense of justice and reason, and how this sense increased and, as it were, established their good will.

"I appealed to them in all matters that concerned the establishment. It was generally in the quiet evening hours that I appealed to their free judgment. When, for instance, it was reported in the village that they had not enough to eat, I said to them, 'Tell me, my children, if you are not better fed than you were at home? Think, and tell me yourselves, whether it would be well to keep you here in such a way as would make it impossible for you afterwards, in spite of all your application and hard work, to procure what you had become accustomed to. Do you lack anything that is really necessary? Do you think that I could reasonably and justly do more for you? Would you have me spend all the money that is entrusted to me on thirty or forty children instead of on eighty as at present? Would that be just?'

"In the same way, when I heard that it was reported that I punished them too severely, I said to them: 'You know how I love you, my children; but tell me, would you like me to stop punishing you? Do you think that in any other way I can free you from your deeply rooted bad habits, or make you always mind what I say?' You were there, my friend, and saw with your own eyes the sincere emotion with which they answered, 'We do not complain of your treatment. Would that we never deserved punishment; but when we do, we are willing to bear it.'

"Many things that make no difference in a small household could not be tolerated where the numbers were so great. I tried to make my children feel this, always leaving them to decide what could or could not be allowed. It is true that, in my intercourse with them, I never spoke of liberty or equality; but, at the same time, I encouraged them as far as possible to be free and unconstrained in my presence, with the result that every day I marked more and more that clear, open look in their eyes which, in my experience, is the sign of a really liberal education. I could not bear the thought of betraying the trust I read in their faces, and was always seeking to encourage it, as well as the free development of their individuality, that nothing might cloud their angel eyes, the mere sight of which gave me such deep pleasure. I never tolerated frowns and gloomy faces, but always tried to call back smiles. The consequence was that, even amongst themselves, gloomy looks were kept out of sight.

"By reason of their great number, I had occasion nearly every day to point out the difference between good and evil, justice and injustice. Good and evil are equally contagious amongst so many children, so that, according as the good or bad sentiments spread, the establishment was likely to become either much better or much worse than if it had only contained a smaller number. About this, too, I talked to them frankly. I shall never forget the impression that my words produced when, in speaking of a certain disturbance that had taken place amongst them, I said, 'My children, it is the same with us as with every other household; when the children are numerous, and each gives way to his bad habits, such disorder ensues that even the weakest mother is obliged to be reasonable, and make them submit to what is just and right. And that is what I must do now. If you do not willingly assist in the maintenance of order, our establishment cannot go on, you will fall back into your former condition, and your misery—now that you have been accustomed to a good home, clean clothes, and regular food—will be greater than ever. In this world, my children, necessity and conviction alone can teach a man to behave; when both fail him, he is hateful. Think for a moment what you would become if you were safe from want and cared nothing for right, justice, or goodness. At home there was always some one who looked after you, and poverty itself forced you to many a right action; but with convictions and reason to guide you, you will rise far higher than by following necessity alone.'

"I often spoke to them in this way without troubling in the least whether they each understood every word, feeling quite sure that they all caught the general sense of what I said.

"Lively pictures of the condition in which they might some day find themselves, had also a very great effect upon them. I pointed out to them the result of each particular defect. I said, for instance: 'Do you not know men who are detested for their evil tongue? Would you, in your old days, care to be thus held in abomination by your neighbours and relations, perhaps even by your children?' In that way I used their own experience to put before them as striking a picture as I could of the evil results of our faults. Similarly, I pointed out the consequences of right action.

"Generally, however, I tried to make clear to them the very different effects of good and bad education. 'Do you not know men whose unhappiness is solely the result of their want of thought and application when young? Do you not know some who could earn three or four times as much if they could read and write? Will you not take advantage of your time here, and learn as much as possible, so that you may never have to live by begging, or be a burden to your children?'

"Here are a few more thoughts which produced a great impression on my children: 'Do you know anything greater or nobler than to give counsel to the poor, and comfort to the unfortunate? But if you remain ignorant and incapable, you will be obliged, in spite of your good heart, to let things take their course; whereas, if you acquire knowledge and power, you will be able to give good advice, and save many a man from misery.'

"I have generally found that great, noble, and high thoughts are indispensable for developing wisdom and firmness of character.

"Such an instruction must be complete in the sense that it must take account of all our aptitudes and all our circumstances; it must be conducted, too, in a truly psychological spirit, that is to say, simply, lovingly, energetically, and calmly. Then, by its very nature, it produces an enlightened and delicate feeling for everything true and good, and brings to light a number of accessory and dependent truths, which are forthwith accepted and assimilated by the human soul, even in the case of those who could not express these truths in words. This verbal expression of the truths which rule our lives is not so generally useful to humanity as it is thought to be by men who have been accustomed for centuries to hear Christian instruction conveyed by question and answer, regardless of result, and who for a generation past have seen the mania of our poor century for empty speech more and more encouraged, alas! by the very people who pretend to enlighten it.

"I believe that the first development of thought in the child is very much disturbed by a wordy system of teaching, which is not adapted either to his faculties or the circumstances of his life.

"According to my experience, success depends upon whether what is taught to children commends itself to them as true, through being closely connected with their own personal observation and experience.

"Without this foundation, truth must seem to them to be little better than a plaything, which is beyond their comprehension, and therefore a burden. Truth and justice are certainly more than empty words to men, for they are the outcome of inward convictions, high views, noble aspirations, and sound judgment, to say nothing of the external signs by which their power may be made manifest.

"And what is not less true is that this sentiment of truth and justice, when it has developed simply and soberly in the depths of a man's soul, is his best safeguard against the chief and most deadly consequences of prejudice; nor will it ever allow error, ignorance, or superstition, however bad they may be in themselves, to influence him as they do and always must influence those who, without a trace of love or justice in their hearts, are incessantly prating of religion and right.

"These general principles of human instruction are like pieces of pure gold; the particular truths which depend upon them are but silver and copper. I cannot help comparing the swimmer, who loses himself in this sea, made up of so many thousand drops of truth, to a merchant who, after having amassed a fortune, penny by penny, should become so attached not only to the general principle of looking after the pence, but to each individual penny, that the loss of a single one would distress him as much as that of a golden guinea.

"When the peaceful exercise of his duty produces a harmony between a man's powers and feelings, when the charm of pure relations between men is increased and ensured by the wider recognition of certain simple and lofty truths, there is nothing to be feared from prejudices; they will disappear before the natural development of these feelings and powers like darkness before the dawn.

"Human knowledge derives its real advantages from the solidity of the foundations on which it rests. The man who knows a great deal must be stronger, and must work harder than others, if he is to bring his knowledge into harmony with his nature and with the circumstances of his life. If he does not do this, his knowledge is but a delusive will-o'-the-wisp, and will often rob him of such ordinary pleasures of life as even the most ignorant man, if he have but common sense, can make quite sure of. That, my dear friend, is why I felt it to be so important that this harmony of the soul's powers, the combined effect of our nature and first impressions, should not be disturbed by the errors of human art.

"I have now put before you my views as to the family spirit which ought to prevail in an educational establishment, and I have told you of my attempts to carry them out. I have still to explain the essential principles upon which all my teaching was based.

"I knew no other order, method, or art, but that which resulted naturally from my children's conviction of my love for them, nor did I care to know any other.

"Thus I subordinated the instruction of my children to a higher aim, which was to arouse and strengthen their best sentiments by the relations of every-day life as they existed between themselves and me.

"I had Gedicke's reading-book, but it was of no more use to me than any other school-book; for I felt that, with all these children of such different ages, I had an admirable opportunity for carrying out my own views on early education. I was well aware, too, how impossible it would be to organize my teaching according to the ordinary system in use in the best schools.

"As a general rule I attached little importance to the study of words, even when explanations of the ideas they represented were given.

"I tried to connect study with manual labour, the school with the workshop, and make one thing of them. But I was the less able to do this as staff, material, and tools were all wanting. A short time only before the close of the establishment, a few children had begun to spin; and I saw clearly that, before any fusion could be effected, the two parts must be firmly established separately—study, that is, on the one hand, and labour on the other.

"But in the work of the children I was already inclined to care less for the immediate gain than for the physical training which, by developing their strength and skill, was bound to supply them later with a means of livelihood. In the same way I considered that what is generally called the instruction of children should be merely an exercise of the faculties, and I felt it important to exercise the attention, observation, and memory first, so as to strengthen these faculties before calling into play the art of judging and reasoning; this, in my opinion, was the best way to avoid turning out that sort of superficial and presumptuous talker, whose false judgments are often more fatal to the happiness and progress of humanity than the ignorance of simple people of good sense.

"Guided by these principles, I sought less at first to teach my children to spell, read, and write than to make use of these exercises for the purpose of giving their minds as full and as varied a development as possible.

"I made them spell by heart before teaching them their A B C, and the whole class could thus spell the hardest words without knowing their letters. It will be evident to everybody how great a call this made on their attention. I followed at first the order of words in Gedicke's book, but I soon found it more useful to join the five vowels successively to the different consonants, and so form a well graduated series of syllables leading from simple to compound.[1] . . .

"I had gone rapidly through the scraps of geography and natural history in Gedicke's book. Before knowing their letters even, they could say properly the names of the different countries. In natural history they were very quick in corroborating what I taught them by their own personal observations on plants and animals. I am quite sure that, by continuing in this way, I should soon have been able not only to give them such a general acquaintance with the subject as would have been useful in any vocation, but also to put them in a position to carry on their education themselves by means of their daily observations and experiences; and I should have been able to do all this without going outside the very restricted sphere to which they were confined by the actual circumstances of their lives. I hold it to be extremely important that men should be encouraged to learn by themselves and allowed to develop freely. It is in this way alone that the diversity of individual talent is produced and made evident.

"I always made the children learn perfectly even the least important things, and I never allowed them to lose ground; a word once learnt, for instance, was never to be forgotten, and a letter once well written never to be written badly again. I was very patient with all who were weak or slow, but very severe with those who did anything less well than they had done it before.

"The number and inequality of my children rendered my task easier. Just as in a family the eldest and cleverest child readily shows what he knows to his younger brothers and sisters, and feels proud and happy to be able to take his mother's place for a moment, so my children were delighted when they knew something that they could teach others. A sentiment of honour awoke in them, and they learned twice as well by making the younger ones repeat their words. In this way I soon had helpers and collaborators amongst the children themselves. When I was teaching them to spell difficult words by heart, I used to allow any child who succeeded in saying one properly to teach it to the others. These child-helpers, whom I had formed from the very outset, and who had followed my method step by step, were certainly much more useful to me than any regular schoolmasters could have been.

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[1] We have here suppressed certain details which apply to German only, and can hardly be translated. But it is clear that the syllabaries for teaching reading, which were not employed in the schools till long afterwards, had already at this time been invented by Pestalozzi. He had already begun, too, to connect the teaching of writing with that of reading and spelling, and used to make his children read written characters before printed ones. His views on this subject are explained in his work, *How to Teach Spelling and Reading*. Gessner, Zurich and Berne, 1801.

"I myself learned with the children. Our whole system was so simple and so natural that I should have had difficulty in finding a master who would not have thought it undignified to learn and teach as I was doing.

"My aim was so to simplify the means of instruction that it should be quite possible for even the most ordinary man to teach his children himself; thus schools would gradually almost cease to be necessary, so far as the first elements are concerned. Just as the mother gives her child its first material food, so is she ordained by God to give it its first spiritual food, and I consider that very great harm is done to the child by taking it away from home too soon and submitting it to artificial school methods. The time is drawing near when methods of teaching will be so simplified that each mother will be able not only to teach her children without help, but continue her own education at the same time. And this opinion is justified by my experience, for I found that some of my children developed so well as to be able to follow in my footsteps. And I am more than ever convinced that as soon as we have educational establishments combined with workshops, and conducted on a truly psychological basis, a generation will necessarily be formed which, on the one hand, will show us by experience that our present studies do not require one tenth part of the time or trouble we now give to them, and on the other, that the time and strength this instruction demands, as well as the means of acquiring it, may be made to fit in so perfectly with the conditions of domestic life, that every parent will easily be able to supply it by a member or friend of the family, a result which will daily become easier, according as the method of instruction is simplified, and the number of educated people increased.

"I have proved two things which will be of considerable use to us in bringing about this desirable improvement. The first is that it is possible and even easy to teach many children of different ages at once and well; the second, that many things can be taught to such children even whilst they are engaged in manual labour. This sort of teaching will appear little more than an exercise of memory, as indeed it is; but when the memory is applied to a series of psychologically graduated ideas, it brings all the other faculties into play. Thus, by making children learn at one time spelling, at another exercises on numbers, at another simple songs, we exercise not only their memory, but their power of combination, their judgment, their taste, and many of the best feelings of their hearts. In this way it is possible to stimulate all a child's faculties, even when one seems to be exercising his memory only.

"These exercises not only gave my children an ever-increasing power of attention and discernment, but did very much for their general mental and moral development, and gave that balance to their natures which is the foundation of human wisdom.

"You yourself have seen, my friend, how the giddiest of them would often burst into tears, how the courage of innocence developed, and how the higher feelings of the most intelligent became gradually more and more active. You must not, however, be deceived, and think that the work was already accomplished. Moments of highest hope alternated with hours of disorder, sorrow, and anxiety.

"I myself was not always the same. You know what I am when ill-will and spite are in league against me. Like the worm that so easily eats its way into the fast-growing plant, malice attacked the very heart of my work.

"Certain men would just glance at my immense task, and finding something which was not so well managed as in their own room or kitchen, or in some richly endowed institution, would at once give me the benefit of their advice and wisdom. But, as I could never follow it, they all looked on me as a man upon whom advice was thrown away, and used to say to each other, 'There is nothing to be done with him; he is a little queer in the head.' This was the hardest thing I had to bear.

"You will hardly believe that it was the Capuchin friars and the nuns of the convent that showed the greatest sympathy with my work. Few people, except Truttman, took any active interest in it. Those from whom I had hoped most were too deeply engrossed with their high political affairs to think of our little institution as having the least degree of importance.

"Such were my dreams; but at the very moment that I seemed to be on the point of realizing them, I had to leave Stanz."

In spite of its great length and many repetitions, this letter seems to us to be one of the most interesting and important documents in the whole field of modern pedagogy.

It contains first a general sketch of an organic education proceeding from within to without by the development and exercise of the child's faculties and sentiments. It speaks of instruction as the fruit of the child's own activity, which must be directed, from the very first, in view of that growth of his faculties which will enable him to learn by himself. It speaks, besides, of a rational method of teaching reading combined with writing and spelling, of the introduction into the popular school of useful facts of geography and natural history, and of the first attempt at that system of mutual instruction which has since been so badly imitated.

The conclusions to be drawn from this experiment at Stanz have been summed up by Morf, one of the men who have studied Pestalozzi with the greatest care and the greatest intelligence, and the author of the most complete biography that has been published of this philosopher of education. His summing up is as follows:

1. "Man's knowledge must be founded on sense-impression. Without this basis, it is but empty verbiage, fraught with more danger even than ignorance for the future happiness of men.

2. "Each branch of instruction must start from a point which is within reach of the child's earliest powers. From this point he must be led forward by a chain of ideas so carefully graduated, that he is able to reach each successive link by his own strength.

3. "The method and means of instruction must be made so clear and so simple as to be capable of adoption by all mothers and teachers, no matter how little talent or education

they may have. In no other way can we look for any large diffusion of enlightenment amongst the people.

4. "In each branch the child must be exercised in the simplest elements till he is entirely master of them, and it must be the same for every step that adds anything new to what is already known. Wherever this principle is not faithfully observed, there can be no true intellectual culture, but merely a confused knowledge, which must remain barren.

5. "Teaching must be addressed to the whole class, and not merely to each individual child; the chief means for this is to make the whole class repeat the master's words in chorus. In this way everybody is occupied, nobody remains inactive, all are compelled to take part in the common work.

6. "Time or rhythm, which men find so useful in any combined work or game, must also be observed in this exercise. It prevents the confusion which would result from a large number of voices, and strengthens the impression made by the teaching.

7. "With this method of instruction, children can practise writing and drawing, even while they are being taught other things. In this way they train their hand and eye, and begin to form their taste. Pestalozzi employed slates for this purpose, on which the children wrote with pencils of the same material. The advantages of this latter innovation, which was due to Pestalozzi, and has since rendered so much service in elementary schools, are its cheapness and the ease with which writing can be rubbed out and corrected."

These propositions, which resume the main points of the letter we have quoted, contain the essential principles upon which, in the present century, the general reform of elementary education has been conducted, and which have led in particular to the institution of good primary schools.

We have now to see how Pestalozzi applied and developed these principles in the new openings he found for his indefatigable activity.

CHAPTER IX.

PESTALOZZI AT BURGDORF.

After teaching gratuitously in the Non-Burgesses' School, he is appointed to the Burgesses' School. The School Commission report on his method. He presents an account of his doctrine to the Society of the Friends of Education. His health seriously impaired by overwork.

Pestalozzi did not stay long at the Gurnigel. No sooner had his health begun to mend than he was again seized with that impetuous zeal for what he called his work, his work without which he could not live—the raising of the people by education. He impatiently awaited the evacuation of Lower Unterwalden by the French troops, for he wanted to return to Stanz and continue his experiment. We have seen that the decision of the Government made this impossible.

Once more Pestalozzi saw the destruction of all his hopes. Not in a position to found such an establishment as he had always thought necessary for the realization of his views, and obliged to give up this project that he had cherished for so long, he had now to look for some other way of reaching the same end, and he decided to become a schoolmaster.

It was to the little town of Burgdorf, in the canton of Berne, that he offered his services; he asked for no salary, but simply for permission to give lessons to the children of one of the primary schools. This modest request was at first refused, and we can hardly wonder at it.

Till then Pestalozzi's only real success had been the publication of *Leonard and Gertrude*. His practical experiments had been very short-lived, and had left nothing behind them calculated to give the public a favourable idea of his talents. "He seems to work well enough for a few months," people had said when he left Stanz, "but it does not last. We might have known that it would be so; he knows nothing thoroughly, and is entirely unpractical. Because he wrote a novel at thirty, it does not follow that he can teach at fifty."

Charles Monnard describes Pestalozzi at this time as follows:

> "At that time the Burgdorf authorities would not have dared to entrust Pestalozzi with a primary school; this man, since so celebrated, would have had no chance whatever against even the most ordinary candidates. He had everything against him; thick, indistinct speech, bad writing, ignorance of drawing, scorn of grammatical learning. He had studied various branches of natural history, but without any particular attention either to classification or terminology. He was conversant with the ordinary numerical operations, but he would have had difficulty to get through a really long sum in multiplication or division, and had probably never tried to work out a problem in geometry. For years this dreamer had read no books.
>
> "He could not even sing, though, when unusually excited or elated, he would hum snatches of poetry to himself; not, however, with very much tune.
>
> "But instead of the usual knowledge that any young man of ordinary talent can acquire in two years, he understood thoroughly what most masters were entirely ignorant of—the mind of man and the laws of its development, human affections, and the art of arousing and ennobling them. He seemed to have almost an intuitive insight into the development of human nature, which indeed he was never tired of contemplating."[1]

Two men, however, of a certain influence in the town, Schnell, prefect of Burgdorf, and Doctor Grimm, recognised Pestalozzi's true merit. They interceded in his favour, and after some trouble, obtained permission for him to teach in a little school in the lower town intended for the children of non-burgesses.

Burgdorf is situated a few leagues to the north-east of Berne, on the river Emme, where the rich valley of the same name opens into the plain of the river Aar. An ancient castle, the abode of the Bailiffs, crowns the summit of a small hill, round the sides of which the narrow streets of the upper town are built one above the other. This upper town was principally inhabited by rich people and burgesses, those, that is, who had certain rights connected with the town property; whereas the lower town at the foot of the hill was occupied by the poorer people and non-burgesses. As the latter, who were looked upon as little better than strangers, were not allowed to send their children to the schools of the burgesses, a special school had been established for them in the lower town. At this time, this school contained seventy-three children. The master, Samuel Dysli, was a shoemaker, who taught the children in his own house, and worked at his trade in the intervals of teaching. Siegfried's elements of instruction, the Heidelberg Catechism, and the Psalms were the only things taught, and the only means of teaching. And yet at that time Burgdorf was one of the smaller places, not only in Switzerland but in Europe, where most attention was given to popular education. We may judge from this of the necessity and extent of the reforms brought about by Pestalozzi.

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[1] *History of the Swiss Confederation*, the continuation of Jean de Muller.

Such was the school, then, into which the old man was admitted to teach towards the end of July, 1799, about half the children being entrusted to his care. His lessons had nothing in common with the ordinary lessons of the day; he used neither books nor copy-books, the Catechism and Psalms were abandoned, the children had nothing to learn by heart, nothing to prepare or to write, and no questions to answer. Their principal exercise consisted in repeating Pestalozzi's words all together, whilst they drew on their slates, not letters as at Stanz, but anything they liked.

Samuel Dysli, however, could not bear to see this stranger teaching in his class, and dreaded being supplanted by him. The new method, which he did not in the least understand, he regarded as an utter abomination, and he was especially scandalized by Pestalozzi's neglect of the Heidelberg Catechism. He mentioned his dissatisfaction to the parents of the children, and easily succeeded in alarming them, and inducing them to unite and declare that they would not have this intruder in their school. "If the burgesses approve of this new method," they said, "let them adopt it for their own children."

The authorities had to give way, and once more Pestalozzi found himself condemned to inaction.

Schnell and Grimm, however, had so thoroughly entered into his views that they did not give up, but spoke in his favour with renewed zeal, and procured his admission into one of the burgess-schools.

There were at that time at Burgdorf three classes of boys and three of girls; the girls were under the care of a lady, Miss Stähli, though they took a certain number of lessons in the classes intended for the boys. Children were admitted into these classes at the age of eight, the younger ones having a sort of preparatory class that was called the spelling and reading school, and was under the direction of Miss Stähli's younger sister.

It was in this preparatory class that Pestalozzi was now allowed to teach. It contained from twenty to twenty-five children of both sexes, aged from five to eight.

In his first letter to Gessner (*How Gertrude Teaches her Children*), Pestalozzi describes his new position in these words:

"I thought I was fortunate, though at first I was continually afraid of dismissal, and that made me more than usually awkward. When I remember with what spirit and ardour I made an enchanted temple of my school at Stanz, and the agony I suffered under my yoke at Burgdorf, I can hardly understand how the same man can have played two such different parts.

"Here in Burgdorf, the school was subject to rules, reasonable enough as it seemed, yet not entirely free from pretension and pedantry. All that was new to me. Never in my life had I submitted to anything of the kind; but I was anxious to reach my goal, so I put up with it. I once more began crying my A B C from morning till night, following without any plan the empirical method interrupted at Stanz. I was indefatigable in putting syllables together and arranging them in a graduated series; I did the same for numbers; I filled whole note-books with them; I sought by every means to simplify the elements of reading and arithmetic, and by grouping them psychologically, enable the child to pass easily and surely from the first step to the second, from the second to the third, and so on. The pupils no longer drew letters on their slates, but lines, curves, angles, and squares."

At the same time Pestalozzi placed before the eyes of his children large drawings of different objects which he taught them to observe and describe. One day he was thus making them study a drawing of a window in which the children were to count the number of panes, bars, etc., when one of them, after looking fixedly at the window of the room, exclaimed: "Could we not learn as well from the window itself as from this drawing?"

This was new light to Pestalozzi. "The child is right," he cried; "he will not have anything come between Nature and himself," and he forthwith put his drawings away, and made his pupils observe the objects in the room.

Pestalozzi had been teaching thus in this school for eight months, when in March, 1800, the annual examination took place, the results of which are stated in the following letter addressed to Pestalozzi by the Burgdorf school commission. This is the first public sign of approval given to the method which was soon to acquire so great a reputation.

"The School Commission of Burgdorf to citizen Pestalozzi.

"Citizen,—

"You have given us great pleasure in submitting to our examination the children you have been teaching for the past eight months, and we feel it to be our duty, not so much for your sake as for the sake of your work, to put before you in writing the opinions we have formed concerning them.

"So far as we are able to judge, all that you yourself hoped from your method of teaching has been realized. You have shown what powers already exist in even the youngest child, in what way these powers are to be developed, and how each talent must be sought out and exercised in such a way as to bring it to maturity. The astonishing progress made by all your young pupils, in spite of their many differences in character and disposition, clearly shows that every child is good for something, when the master knows how to find out his talents, and cultivate them in a truly psychological manner. Your teaching has brought to light the foundations on which all instruction must be based, if it is ever to be of any real use; it also shows that from the tenderest age, and in a very short time, a child's mind can attain a wonderful breadth of development which must make its influence felt, not only during his few years of study, but throughout his whole life.

"Whereas by the difficult method hitherto in vogue, children from five to eight years old learnt nothing but letters, spelling, and reading, your pupils have not only succeeded in these things to a degree which is altogether unprecedented, but the cleverest among them are also distinguished for their good writing, and their talent for drawing and arithmetic. In all of them you have aroused and cultivated such a taste for history, natural history, geography, measuring, etc., that their future masters will find their task incredibly lightened if they do but know how to turn this preparation to advantage.

"In future the higher classes will receive from your hands, or from those of a master who follows your method, not children who still require to spend years over the first elements, but children who know them thoroughly, and possess besides a solid foundation of useful knowledge.

"Your method of teaching has also many other advantages over those that have been employed hitherto. Not only does it increase the rate of the child's progress, and give variety to his knowledge, but it is especially suitable for the home, where the mother, or an elder child, or a sensible servant, could easily carry it out. What an advantage this is both for parents and children!

"We do not think it is exceeding our province to say that you have rendered lasting services to our children and schools, and that we are proud to have been chosen by you to help to carry out the noble plans which do you so much honour, and which will make the task of future schoolmasters so much lighter. In your zealous efforts to realize an idea so carefully thought out, and so thoroughly adapted to the needs of humanity, may you not be hampered by the critical position of our country, by any lack of public support, by jealousy or any other passion. May nothing, in short, turn you aside from your favourite work of education and the ennobling of childhood.

"Would that we might be able to afford you some slight assistance towards this great end.

"With republican greeting and true regard,
"In the name of the School Commission,
"*The President:* EM. KUPFERSCHMID."

"*Burgdorf, March* 31*st*, 1800.

"Convinced of the truth of this testimony, and in token of my regard, I have affixed the seal of my office to this document.

"*The Prefect of the district of Burgdorf:* J. SCHNELL."

This testimony does the greatest honour to the Burgdorf Commission. In spite of all the blunders, irregularities, and oddities of the new method, in spite of its evident defects of form, and the many prejudices they excited, the commissioners succeeded in discovering the real merit of the work as neither Businger nor Zschokke had been able to do; and yet Pestalozzi was not less awkward at Burgdorf than at Stanz.

The document, moreover, contains abundant proof that the old man was not so incapable of teaching as was generally supposed, for it points to real, rapid, and astonishing progress on the part of his scholars. Nor was Pestalozzi so unpractical as he himself believed; we need no better proof of this than the very practical inventions by which he sought to make teaching easier; the use of slates for writing and drawing for instance, and of large movable letters for reading. The latter accompanied his book for teaching reading already referred to. It was by their means that he so quickly taught the little Burgdorf children to read. Movable letters have since been very generally used, but not always with Pestalozzi's success; often indeed they have been little more than useless playthings. We must also mention his tables for teaching arithmetic by sense-impression; they were not completed till afterwards, but already in his small class at Burgdorf he made use of boards on which units were represented by dots.

Such was the first success of the "method," the first at least that was publicly proclaimed. But Pestalozzi's joy in it was soon disturbed, for he was called away to Neuhof by the painful news of the dangerous illness of his beloved son, Jacobli.

In a few days all immediate danger had disappeared, but the patient remained paralyzed. The poor father passed his Easter vacation at the bedside of his dear and only child, and then sadly returned to Burgdorf.

It was probably in consequence of the favourable report that had just been published on his work in the preparatory class, that Pestalozzi was now appointed to the second class, which contained about sixty children of both sexes, of ages varying from six to fifteen, who were taught Bible history, geography, Swiss history, arithmetic, and writing. Several of the pupils also received elementary lessons in Latin from the master of the first class.

It was in this second class that in May, 1800, Pestalozzi resumed his experiments. The activity he now displayed has been curiously described by one of his pupils, who was then a child of ten years old, but who thirty-eight years afterwards published his autobiography, with the title of *A Short Sketch of my Pedagogical Life.* This was John Ramsauer, a poor orphan, who, driven from his native place by the misfortunes of the war, had found a home with a charitable lady at Schleumen, near Burgdorf. Trained by Pestalozzi, he became a most successful teacher, and was finally appointed tutor to the princes and princesses of Oldenburg.

The following is Ramsauer's account of Pestalozzi and his school at Burgdorf during the summer of 1800:

"So far as ordinary school knowledge was concerned, neither I nor the other boys learned anything. But his zeal, love, and unselfishness, combined with his painful and serious position, evident even to the children, made a most profound impression upon me, and won my child's heart, naturally disposed to be grateful, for ever. And thus, when my benefactress went away to Berne for the winter, and gave the two children she had rescued the choice of going with her or staying at Burgdorf, I decided at once for the latter course, whereas my companion preferred the beautiful and wealthy capital.

"It is impossible to draw a clear and complete picture of this school, but here are a few details. According to the ideas of Pestalozzi, all teaching was to start from three elements: language, number, and form. He had no plan of studies and no order of lessons, and as he did not limit himself to any fixed time, he often followed the same subject for two or three hours together. We were about sixty boys and girls from eight to fifteen years old. Our lessons lasted from eight till eleven in the morning, and from two till four in the afternoon. All the teaching was limited to drawing, arithmetic, and exercises in language. We neither read nor wrote; we had neither books nor copy-books; we learnt nothing by heart. For drawing we were given neither models nor directions; only slates and red chalk, and while Pestalozzi was making us repeat sentences on natural history as an exercise in language, we had to draw just what we liked. But we did not know what to draw. Some of us drew little men and women, others houses, others lines or arabesques, according to their fancy. Pestalozzi never looked at what we had drawn, or rather scribbled, but from the state of our clothes it was pretty evident that we had been using red chalk. For arithmetic we had little boards divided into squares, in which were dots that we had to count, add, subtract, multiply, and divide. It was from this that Krusi and Buss (Pestalozzi's assistants), first took the idea of their "table of units," and afterwards of their "table of fractions." But as Pestalozzi did nothing but make us repeat these exercises one after another, without asking us any questions, this process, excellent as it was, never did us very much good.

"Our master never had the patience to go back, and, carried away by his excessive zeal, he paid little attention to each individual scholar. The language exercises were the best thing we had, especially those on the wall-paper of the schoolroom, which were real practice in sense-impression. We spent hours before this old and torn paper, occupied in examining the number, form, position, and colour of the different designs, holes, and rents, and expressing our ideas in more and more enlarged sentences. Thus he would ask: 'Boys, what do you see?' (He never addressed the girls.)

"*Answer:*

"'A hole in the paper.'

"*Pestalozzi:*

"'Very well, say after me:—
"'I see a hole in the paper.
"'I see a long hole in the paper.
"'Through the hole I see the wall.
"'Through the long narrow hole I see the wall.
"'I see figures on the paper.
"'I see black figures on the paper.
"'I see round black figures on the paper.
"'I see a square yellow figure on the paper.

"'By the side of the square yellow figure I see a round black one.

"'The square figure is joined to the round figure by a large black stripe, etc.'

"The exercises on natural history were not so good.

"As Pestalozzi in his zeal took no notice of time, he often continued till eleven o'clock what he had begun at eight, though by ten he was already hot and tired. We generally knew it was eleven by the noise the children from the other schools made in the street, and we then very often ran out with a rush without asking permission. Although afterwards Pestalozzi always strictly forbade his masters to use corporal punishment, he did not always spare the children himself. It is true that most of them led him a hard life. I felt a great pity for him, and tried to behave better on that account. He very soon noticed it, and often at eleven o'clock, when it was fine, he took me with him in his walks on the banks of the Emme, where he went to search for minerals. I had to help him, but I was very much puzzled to know which to choose among the thousands of stones on the banks. He himself knew very little about it; but he always filled his handkerchief and pockets with stones, which he carried home and never looked at again."

After reading this grotesque description, we can hardly wonder that at this time Pestalozzi's work was occasionally looked upon as mere folly. We must not forget, however, that Ramsauer was then only ten years old, and that in all probability the points of Pestalozzi's method which made the strongest impressions upon him were its weaknesses and eccentricities.

It is besides perfectly true that in his school at Burgdorf Pestalozzi's work was still tentative and experimental, and that he concerned himself comparatively little with the immediate instruction of his pupils. He was not yet clear himself as to what his method really was, and could hardly have given an explanation of it. He was, in fact, still seeking a principle.

It was in this same summer of 1800 that the clue was given him by a word let fall by a member of the Executive Commission, Mr. Gleyre, of the Canton of Vaud. Pestalozzi himself relates the incident in the first letter to Gessner

(*How Gertrude Teaches Her Children*), dated the 1st of January, 1801:

> "Whilst, in the dust of the school, I thus sought to fulfil the duties it imposed on me, not superficially, but with my whole strength, I was confronted at each moment by facts which threw increasing light on the physico-mechanical laws by which our mind is rendered capable of receiving and retaining impressions. Each day I endeavoured more and more to follow these laws in my teaching, although I did not thoroughly grasp the principle upon which they reposed until last summer, when Councillor Gleyre, to whom I was trying to explain my method, suddenly exclaimed: 'I see, you want to make education mechanical.' He had hit the nail on the head, and supplied me with the very word I wanted to express my aim and the means I employed. I might perhaps have remained a long time without finding it, for I had no clear conception of what I was doing, but merely followed a strong though vague feeling which told me what to do without telling me why. It could not, indeed, be otherwise. For thirty years I had read no books; I was, in fact, no longer able to read. I had little power left of expressing abstract ideas, and lived, as it were, amidst a crowd of intuitive convictions, the outcome of weighty experiences for the most part forgotten."

It must be added that in the second edition (1821) of the work we have just quoted, Pestalozzi judges differently. He points out that the word *mechanical* expresses an idea which is contrary to his views, and that if he adopted it at first, it was only because his ignorance of French prevented his understanding its real meaning.

He had, however, begun by accepting it and using it, and we can imagine the sort of impression strangers must have carried away, when he told them that his aim was to make education mechanical.

His error was not of long duration. An account of his doctrine, written shortly after his conversation with Gleyre, begins thus: "I want to psychologize education." Thus he is already making a new word to replace the one he now feels to be unfit.

No one had been more pleased with Pestalozzi's success in the little elementary school than Stapfer. But as, in spite of this success, the old man's views were still comparatively ignored, Stapfer founded, in June, 1800, a Society of Friends of Education, for the purpose of making them more generally known. The Society appointed a Commission, chosen from its own members, to examine Pestalozzi's method and report on it. The Commissioners, amongst whom were such distinguished men as Paul Usteri, of Zurich, and Luthi, of Soleure, asked Pestalozzi to furnish them with a short account of his doctrine and method of working. Pestalozzi at once consented, and drew up the statement of which we have already quoted the opening sentence.

This document, which is Pestalozzi's first systematic statement of his "method," is of very considerable importance, not only because at this time he was still working alone, but because it sets forth his doctrine with a clearness and precision that are hardly to be found in any other of his writings. Unfortunately it was never published, and has remained almost unknown. It is wanting even in the collection published by Seyffarth, at Brandenburg, which is the most complete edition of Pestalozzi's works. Niederer, we believe, incorporated it in his *Notes on Pestalozzi*, Aix-la-Chapelle, 1828, but this book is no longer to be found.

The author begins by developing the idea contained in his first sentence: "I want to psychologize human education." He explains that his aim is to base all methods of teaching on the eternal laws which regulate the development of the human mind, and that he has endeavoured, by conforming to these laws, to simplify the elements of knowledge, and reduce them to such psychologically connected series of notions as shall ensure even for the lowest classes of society a real physical, intellectual, and moral development.

He then shows that sense-impression, joined to exercises in language for expressing the different impressions received, must be the foundation of education, and he points to language, drawing, writing, arithmetic, and the art of measuring as being the most general elements of culture, as well as those that the experience of centuries has consecrated. He then gives a few series of elementary notions which he has already drawn up, and indicates the branches of study for which such work has still to be done.

In the course of his exposition he often comes back to the inexact word he seemed to have abandoned, and speaks of imitating the *mechanism* of Nature as if he had forgotten the spiritual essence of the heart and mind of man.

But his real thought is clearly seen in the following extract:

> "The mechanism of Nature is everywhere sublime, but simple. Imitate it, oh man! Imitate Nature, that from the seed of the greatest tree produces nothing at first but a scarcely perceptible growth, which, slowly and insensibly increasing from day to day, and hour to hour, gradually develops into trunk, branches, twigs, and leaves.
>
> "Observe carefully how Nature protects and strengthens each new part as it is developed, that it may serve in its turn as the source of still further development.
>
> "Observe how the flower only develops after having been formed in the heart of the bud, how the beauty of its first days soon passes away, giving place to the fruit, as yet a feeble growth, but already perfect in its essential features, and how for months this fruit, hanging to the branch which nourishes it, grows and develops till at last ripe and perfected it falls from the tree.
>
> "Observe how Nature no sooner lifts the first shoot above the ground than it sends forth the first germ of the root, and gradually carries deep into the bosom of the earth the noblest part of the tree; how by a subtle process it develops the motionless trunk from the heart of the root, the branches from the heart of the trunk, and the twigs from the heart of the branches; how, to each part, no matter how weak or how insignificant, it supplies the necessary nourishment, yet nothing useless, inappropriate, or superfluous."

Under the name of the *mechanism of Nature*, it is evidently the vegetable organism that Pestalozzi is here describing and proposing as a model for the educator. We may conclude, therefore, that whenever, in talking of education, he speaks of *mechanism*, it is *organism* that he means us to understand. That the mind and the heart of man, no less than his body, develop according to organic laws, is indeed the fundamental principle of Pestalozzi's doctrine, as we shall see still more clearly presently. The important document we have been quoting, concludes as follows;

"Do not, oh man, neglect the great psychological law by which the nearness or distance of objects determines their positive effect on your impressions and development. The child who goes miles in search of a tree that grows before his door will never learn to know trees. The child who finds nothing worthy of attention in his home will not easily find anything to interest him in the whole world, nor will he who is not moved to love by his mother's eyes be moved to kindliness by the tears of men, though he should roam the world over. Man becomes good when he listens to the calls to virtue and wisdom made on him by his immediate surroundings; he becomes the opposite when, neglecting these, he seeks others in distant lands.

"Nature has two principal and general means of directing human activity towards the cultivation of the arts, and these should be employed, if not before, at least side by side with any particular means. They are singing and the sense of the beautiful, The mother lulls her child with her song, though here, as in everything else, we do not follow the law of Nature. Before the child is a year old, the mother's song ceases; by that time she is, as a rule, no longer entirely a mother for the child, who is already forgetting his first impressions; indeed for him, as for everybody else, she is often little more than a busy, overburdened woman. Ah! why should it be thus? Why has not the progress of the arts during so many centuries been able to find something to carry on the work of these lullabies in after life? Why has it not yet given us a series of national songs capable of elevating the very humblest souls and leading from the simple cradle melody to the sublime hymn of praise to God? I am incapable of supplying the want, alas! I can only call attention to it.

"And it is the same with the sense of the beautiful. Nature is full of lovely sights, yet Europe has done nothing either to awaken in the poor a sense for these beauties, or to arrange them in such a way as to produce a series of impressions capable of developing this sense. In vain does the sun rise and set; in vain do forest, meadow, mountain, and valley spread their innumerable wonders before our eyes; all this is nothing to us.

"And here again I can do nothing. But if ever popular education should cease to be the barbarous absurdity it now is, and put itself into harmony with the real needs of our nature, this want will be supplied.

"Nature does much for humanity, but we have forsaken its path. The poor especially are far removed from its life-giving springs. I have seen that this is so, and in all my experience I have not seen that it was ever otherwise. Hence the need which impels me not merely to remedy obvious defects, but to get to the very root of the educational evil which in Europe is destroying the most numerous class of the population.

"I know what I am doing. But neither the difficulties of the undertaking nor the inadequacy of my means can prevent my bringing my grain of sand for the construction of the building of which Europe stands so much in need. And, gentlemen, in offering you the results of the labours which have absorbed my life, I ask you but one thing, and it is this: that in examining my ideas you will rigidly separate anything that seems doubtful from what you feel to be incontestably true."

During this summer of 1800, Pestalozzi did not obtain in his higher class so much success as had crowned his efforts in the lower class the winter before. It will be remembered that Ramsauer admits that "most of his pupils gave him a very great deal of trouble." Stapfer, too, states that the old man's appearance and manners often compromised his authority in his class, and to such a degree that the prefect Schnell was obliged to intervene.

It could hardly be otherwise. Pestalozzi's method was at that time exclusively and excessively elementary; it dealt with human knowledge in its first and simplest principles; it was only fit, in fact, for quite young beginners. It was therefore almost impossible to apply it to scholars who for many years had been taught on a totally different method. Indeed, as these young people thought themselves already tolerably well educated, these simple, childish exercises, far from interesting them, only served to wound their vanity. The same thing happened again afterwards, and the work which had been so successful at the Burgdorf institute had much less success at Yverdun.

Whilst Pestalozzi was thus teaching in the second class in Burgdorf, he was also endeavouring, with Stapfer's help, to find some new sphere of activity, for he felt that the excessive labour his work necessitated was wearing him out.

The Helvetian Directory, that had looked so favourably upon Pestalozzi's educational schemes, had been replaced, on the 7th of January, 1800, by an Executive Commission of seven members. On the 18th of the following February, Stapfer had addressed to this Commission a report drawn up in French, in which, after again calling attention to Pestalozzi's views and the success of his teaching at Burgdorf, he continued:

> "It would be unpardonable of the Helvetian Government not to use the talents of this remarkable man for the benefit of the country, and not to turn to advantage the virtues of an old man whose ardour to alleviate the sufferings of his fellow-creatures has not been quenched by years, and whose heart, even in the winter of his life, is still eager to be useful, and still burns with the sacred love of humanity."

He finishes by asking, in Pestalozzi's name, for permission to publish his writings, and for a loan of some seventy pounds, to be devoted partly to the expenses of printing the elementary books at which he was working, partly to the foundation of a special educational establishment; lastly, with a view to the building which would be necessary, he asks for a free gift of two hundred trees from the national forests in the neighbourhood of Neuhof. For security Pestalozzi offered to deposit his manuscripts, valued by certain impartial publishers at about seventy pounds, and undertook to devote to the new establishment all profits from the sale of his works, and, according to his means, to receive poor children free of charge.

The Executive Commission had on the 25th of February decided to advance the money on condition that Pestalozzi should pay them back as soon as his institution enabled him to do so, and it had asked the legislative councils to confirm this decision. It had, however, refused the trees for building, on the ground that the forests in Aargau were in a very bad condition, but it had offered to supply him with wood from another part of Switzerland instead. Pestalozzi expressed his thanks in the following letter:

"Citizen Councillors of State,—

"Till now I had feared that I should die without having received any help from my country towards the one great end of my life. You can judge then how your decision, by removing this fear, has restored my courage and filled my heart with gratitude.

"With respect and patriotic fidelity,

"PESTALOZZI.

"*Burgdorf, the 6th of March*, 1800."

The extremely unsatisfactory state of the finances of the Republic, however, interfered with the carrying out of the decision. Even afterwards, when Pestalozzi had really founded and put into working order the Burgdorf institute, he only received twenty-three pounds from the State purse for the first year, fifteen of which were to go towards the expenses of printing his first elementary book, *How to Teach Spelling and Reading*. Moreover, the refusal of wood at Neuhof had interfered with Pestalozzi's plans, and compelled him to postpone their execution. He was therefore obliged to go on with his fatiguing work in his class; but his chest was not strong enough to bear the violent strain he put upon it from morning till night, and he was soon as ill as he had been at Stanz. It was about this time that he wrote as follows to his friend Zschokke:

"For thirty years my life has been a well-nigh hopeless struggle against the most frightful poverty. . . . For thirty years I have had to forego many of the barest necessaries of life, and have had to shun the society of my fellow-men from sheer lack of decent clothes. Many and many a time have I gone without a dinner, and eaten in bitterness a dry crust of bread on the road, at a time when even the poorest were seated round a table. All this I have suffered, and am still suffering to-day, and with no other object than the realization of my plans for helping the poor."

Once more disappointed in his hopes, Pestalozzi saw his life and strength apparently wasted, and his most cherished schemes on the point of being ruined for ever, when, happily for humanity, Providence came to his rescue by sending him a helper in every way worthy of him, such a man, indeed, as he never expected to find—Hermann Krusi.

CHAPTER X.

KRUSI, PESTALOZZI'S FIRST FELLOW-WORKER.

Outer Appenzell and its inhabitants. How Krusi the carrier became a schoolmaster. Eastern Switzerland ruined by the war. Krusi takes twenty-eight poor children to Burgdorf. Fischer employs Krusi in a training-school in Burgdorf Castle. Death of Fischer. Krusi joins Pestalozzi.

The village of Gais, in which, in 1775, Hermann Krusi was born, is situated in one of the upper valleys of the canton of Appenzell. This district is one of the most remarkable in Switzerland, not so much perhaps for its beautiful scenery as for the manners, industry, character, and natural intelligence of its inhabitants. It has produced not a few distinguished men, and it supplied Pestalozzi with several of his best collaborators.

There is very little arable land in the country, which is exceedingly hilly, but its valleys and heights are thickly wooded, and its well-kept pastures always fresh and green. Its fruit-trees, too, are very numerous, and of a small, hardy sort, suited to the harsh climate. Milk, butter, dried fruit, and cider are its chief products, but these alone would not suffice either to feed or occupy the inhabitants, whose comfort and prosperity are owing rather to the manufacture of stuffs, embroideries, and especially muslins, an industry which has long been associated with agriculture. There is scarcely a house in the district, indeed, but has its cattle-shed and work-room.

Krusi did not get much schooling, for his father, a poor shopkeeper, soon required his help at home. What he did get was probably worth very little, for the school at Gais, like most of the schools at that time, was of little real value. The children were called up one by one to say their lesson, and for the rest of the time were left inactive. Their work consisted of spelling, and reading, and repeating the catechism, only a few of the elder ones being taught to write. If little Hermann ever learnt anything there, it was soon forgotten, for at twelve years of age he was going about the district for his father from village to village, entirely ignorant of the things generally taught in school.

But the child was sharp and observant, and passionately fond of study; and though he had to work hard for a living, he still found time for self-improvement. As his father sent him to make sales or purchases in the different villages, he often found himself the bearer of considerable sums of money; and as he had to keep a strict account of this money, he gradually taught himself to count. He learned at the same time to distinguish the various qualities of different sorts of goods. He was in the habit, too, of botanizing as he went along, and so became familiar with the names and characters of the most useful plants. He had, besides, that deep appreciation of Nature which is so rare amongst those whose daily struggles for a living leave them little or no real leisure. To his admiration for the beauties of his country [1] was joined a fervent inborn piety, which, even amid his mercantile pursuits, always held the first place in his simple, pure, and loving heart.

Hermann Krusi was eighteen years old when a chance encounter resulted in his taking up teaching, work for which he was eminently fitted, but of which he would probably never have thought had not the idea been suggested to him. Here, for a moment, we must let him speak for himself, for it was from his own lips that we first heard the story:

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[1] A very good general view of the country is to be had from the top of the Gäbris, which lies to the north of the village of Gais, and can be reached in rather less than an hour. At this height, hills and woods lie stretched out below, and between them the numerous villages, with their large painted houses of carved wood, and their high, red church steeples. To the south the view extends to the mountains of the Catholic canton of Inner Appenzell, no longer connected with Outer Appenzell, which, on embracing the reform, was made into a separate half-canton. The glaciers of the Sentis crown this side of the picture. To the east lies the Rhine valley, with the river winding like a silver ribbon; beyond are the Austrian Alps of the Vorarlberg. To the north is the plain of Thurgau, so thickly covered with fine trees as to be like an immense orchard. On this side the view is bounded by the lake of Constance, and beyond the lake, as ar as the eye can reach, by the mountains of the Black Forest.

"One hot summer's day I was crossing the Gäbris on my way back from Trogen with a heavy load of thread. It was just at the top of the mountain where the path changes its direction that my thoughts and my life also changed theirs. I had set down my pack to wipe my forehead, when I was met by Mr. Gruber, at that time State Treasurer, who recognized me.

"'It's very hot, Hermann,' he said.

"'Yes, very hot.'

"'As Hoerlen, the schoolmaster, is leaving Gais, you might perhaps earn your living without working quite so hard. Wouldn't you like to try for his place?'

"'It isn't merely a question of what I should like. A schoolmaster must know things of which I am entirely ignorant.'

"'At your age you could easily learn all that we expect a village schoolmaster to know.'

"'But where and how? I see no possibility of such a thing.'

"'A way will easily be found if you would like to do it. Think about it, and lose no time.'

"Whereupon he left me.

"I thought and thought, but could not see how it was to be done. However, I rapidly descended the mountain, hardly conscious of my load.

"My friend Sonderegger procured me a specimen of writing from a clever caligraphist, of Altstätten, which I copied more than a hundred times. This was my only preparation. Nevertheless, I sent in my name, though with little hope of succeeding.

"There was only one other candidate. The chief test was to write the Lord's Prayer, which I did with the greatest care.

"I had noticed that capital letters were used here and there, but I knew nothing of the rules,[1] and took them for an ornament. I accordingly arranged mine symmetrically, so that some of them came even in the middle of a word. The fact is that we neither of us knew anything.

"Soon after the examination was over I was sent for, and told that the examiners thought us both very weak; that my rival read better than I did, but that my writing was better than his; that as I was only eighteen, whereas he was forty, I could more easily acquire the necessary knowledge; that, moreover, my room, being bigger than his, was more suitable for a schoolroom; and, lastly, that I was appointed to the vacant post."

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[1] In German all nouns are written with a capital letter.

Krusi's room was therefore cleared of some old furniture to make room for the hundred children who formed the school. This was in 1793.

There he was, then, with a hundred children in his room, much perplexed as to how to keep them in order, how to occupy them, and how to teach them. Another man, in his place, would have bethought himself of what was done in the school where he had been taught, and would have imitated his former master. But not so Krusi; he had been attracted to this new career not so much by the insignificant salary as by the opportunity it afforded him of satisfying his passion for study; he knew that he had much to learn, and now, instead of trying to show his scholars what he already knew, he set himself to learn with them.

He was much helped by the pastor Schiess, who, struck by the vices of the old routine-system of the primary school, was endeavouring to find something better to replace it. This worthy man gave Krusi his personal assistance for the first eight weeks. The children were divided into three classes, and every effort was made to keep them constantly occupied. A new reading-book had just been introduced into the school, containing Bible stories and a few facts of geography and natural history. The children were questioned on what they read to make sure that they had thoroughly understood.

Krusi worked very hard; he was very happy in his new position, partly because he was gaining knowledge, but chiefly because he really loved his children. He cared not only for their future welfare, but for their present contentment. He knew how necessary activity was for them, and he did all he could not to cause them a moment's weariness. Amongst the varied exercises of his class, he was not afraid to introduce the personal experiences by which he had gained, sometimes indeed to his cost, useful knowledge of things connected with the everyday life of the country, and so he often talked of weaving and cattle, plants and merchandise, to the great delight of the children, who were not a little surprised to hear in school about the very things in which they were most interested.

It was impossible that such a change in school methods should be understood and approved by everybody. It excited, indeed, considerable opposition in the district, an opposition which became stronger after the Revolution of 1798. Krusi was in favour of the new order of things, because he thought it more likely than the old to encourage work amongst the people, and the development of public instruction. He thus lost the goodwill of many who remained faithful to the old system.

It was then that, thanks to a combination of circumstances which we must briefly explain, a new career was thrown open to him.

Towards the end of last century, the famous pedagogical establishment conducted by Salzmann at Schnepfenthal had excited in the minds of several of its best students an ardent desire for the reform and progress of public instruction. Amongst them was a young Swiss, called Fischer, who, after completing his theological studies, had obtained a post of deputy-minister. But in the Revolution of 1798 he gave up this post for the secretaryship of the Science and Art Department under the new Swiss Government.

Fischer's views, like those of Pestalozzi, were lofty, generous, and patriotic; like him, he felt the need of raising the schools of Switzerland; but it was by the foundation of a normal school that he sought to reach his end, whereas Pestalozzi was anxious, first of all, to apply his method to the education of poor children.

Fischer's views were shared by the minister Stapfer, who induced the Government to adopt them. The state of the finances, however, did not admit of any practical steps being taken, and the Government merely promised to support Fischer should he succeed in founding a normal school, and held out the hope that it might perhaps later on become a State institution.

For the carrying out of his plans, Fischer had chosen the Castle of Burgdorf, and the Government had granted him the use of a certain part of it. The future director accordingly went and settled there. He was well received by the inhabitants of the town, who entrusted him with the reorganization and direction of their schools, a work into which he threw himself with zeal, whilst waiting for an opportunity of founding his own school.

This was in the autumn of 1799. Disasters like that of the year before at Stanz had just overtaken eastern Switzerland, where the war that the French were carrying on against the Austrians and Prussians had entirely destroyed the resources of the country, which was in consequence a prey to the most horrible famine. In the districts of the Linth and Sentis especially there were hundreds of mothers with absolutely nothing to give their children. The inhabitants of those parts of Switzerland which had escaped this terrible scourge were moved with compassion, and took the children of their ruined countrymen into their homes to care for them, and bring them up as their own.

The chief mover in this generous action at Burgdorf was Fischer. He heard so much sympathy expressed on every side that in the month of December he wrote to his friend Steinmüller, of Glarus, then pastor of Gais, asking him to send to Burgdorf thirty poor children, for whom he undertook to find comfortable homes. He asked further that they should be accompanied by a young man capable of looking after them and fond of teaching, whom he promised to train himself and turn into a good schoolmaster.

Steinmüller accordingly set off as soon as possible for Glarus, his native place, which was the district that had suffered most. But eighty poor children of this canton had already been sent away, and, by the kindness of the Literary Society of Berne, placed in homes in the province of Vaud, then the canton of Leman, not, it must be confessed, with the entire approval of many of the inhabitants of Glarus, who traced all their misfortunes to the action of the people of Vaud in calling in the French.

On his return to Gais, Steinmüller announced to his parishioners that he could place a certain number of children in comfortable homes in the canton of Berne, and such was the state of distress in the country that the very first day he had no less than forty applications.

He proposed to Krusi that he should accompany the emigrant children, pointing out to him the advantage it would be to be instructed by Fischer, perhaps even by Pestalozzi. Although the latter was already very famous, the young schoolmaster had never heard of him, but he unhesitatingly accepted the offer, being eager to proceed with his own education, and cultivate his talent for teaching.

In the letter he wrote to Fischer, on the 16th of January, 1800, Steinmüller speaks of Krusi in the following terms:

"I have found the man I wanted, and hope he will satisfy you. He is twenty-four years old, has nothing but what he earns, is willing, docile, and energetic; he already possesses a fair amount of that sort of knowledge which is most useful for a schoolmaster, and has an ardent love for his profession. He is certain to meet with considerable success. His character is blameless. His name is Hermann Krusi, and he is one of my parishioners and schoolmasters. He is very anxious to come to you, knowing how much he has to gain from you and Pestalozzi. If he should not suit you, he can come back here."

On the 21st of January, 1800, Krusi left Gais with twenty-eight children of both sexes. He has left us a few details of the journey, which show with what sympathy the little band was everywhere received:

"At Winterthur, whilst we were taking some food that had been provided for us, the excellent pastor Hanhart came in. On hearing the reason of our journey, he hurried out and soon came back with a little money, which, in his zeal, he had collected, and which he gave us with his blessing and best wishes for our welfare.

"At Bassersdorf, where we arrived somewhat late, we had to go to the inns. All the beds were taken, however, on account of the fair at Zurich, so we were put into some big rooms covered with straw. The tribunal of the district happened to be sitting in the town, and its president made a collection for us, and himself brought us the proceeds, with his best wishes for a prosperous journey."

On the 27th of January the little band arrived at Burgdorf, and the children were placed with different families in the neighbourhood. A room was found for Krusi in the Castle, where Fischer and Pestalozzi were already living, and meals were provided for him in the house of one of the townspeople.

This emigration of the poor children of the small cantons into other parts of Switzerland is a striking fact in connection with those troublous times. The distress which induced so many parents to part with their children must have been great indeed; we cannot but admire the generous sympathy of those who received them into their homes.

The number of children thus provided for was very great. In the beginning of February, 1800, a second party of forty-four, from ten to fourteen years old, was despatched from Appenzell. One of the youngest of these was John Ramsauer, to whom we have already referred. In his memoirs he has left us a curious account of this journey, from which we quote the following passage:

"We journeyed in two open waggons. The treatment we received at the different places we stopped at depended, more or less, upon the political opinions of the people of the place. I noticed that it was always the poorest, the most neglected, and the most ignorant children who were the loudest in their complaints; whilst those who had been accustomed to a certain degree of comfort, or had had a little education, cheerfully accepted the hardships of their position.[1] Our first stopping-place was at Wyl, in the canton of Thurgau; it was late, and snowing fast, and we were obliged to wander about for a long time with lanterns looking for our night quarters; I slept with two other children in a very humble house; we went to bed without supper, and our room kept out neither wind nor snow. At Zurich, which was full of foreign soldiers, we found no other shelter but a hospital, with straw for beds. Most of the children did nothing but complain the whole night long, and the next morning many of them were quite ill. At Morgenthal, in the canton of Berne, nobody would take us in, and we had to go on through the night for some miles till we found refuge in a lonely cottage already full of soldiers and camp followers. Generally, however, we were treated with kindness and consideration. We were never tired of talking of the warm welcome we received at Lenzburg, where we were so well lodged, and at Suhr, where we had such a good dinner.

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[1] The spoiled children of rich parents, had there been any, would probably have complained louder even than the poor. Ramsauer's remark shows the advantage, from an educational point of view, of those modest but happy homes where comfort is the outcome of labour. *Aurea mediocritas!*

"Our destination was Oberburg, about three miles to the south of Burgdorf. It took us a week to reach it. On our arrival we were drawn up in a public square, and exhibited to the generous people who had agreed to adopt us. The richer people chose the prettiest children; the peasants took the healthiest and strongest. Fifteen, myself among the number, were not chosen by anybody. We were therefore sent off to Schleumen, a little to the west of Burgdorf. There, once more ranged in order, we were awaiting our fate, when a lady, who had promised to take two children, came out of a pretty house to examine us. All the rest were gloomy and silent, but I turned and cried merrily, 'I know how old that house is!' The date was over the door. My quickness pleased the lady, and she took me and one of my companions home with her. The others were taken to the village of Hindelbank."

Not long afterwards the same small district of Appenzell sent away a third, and even a fourth party of children. Nor were they sent merely from Glarus, but from Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, and Saint Gallen, and they were received in every part of Western Switzerland, from Basle to Geneva.

Krusi now settled at Burgdorf, and continued to teach the children he had brought with him, for all of whom homes had been found somewhere in the town or neighbourhood. When the School Commission was asked what he was to be paid, they replied:

"The schoolmaster Krusi, besides continuing to instruct the children of his native parish, as he was in the habit of doing at home, is ready to take other pupils. He is entitled to charge four shillings a month for any lessons given outside the school; but as we do not wish to impose an additional burden upon the generous people who have adopted these poor children, we must leave those who wish to make him some return to fix the amount for themselves."

Pestalozzi, Fischer, and Krusi lived together, not only in perfect sympathy, but in perfect harmony. Pestalozzi and

Fischer, although their views were not in every respect identical, loved and esteemed each other very highly. It was Fischer, however, who by his lessons, his example, and his advice, exercised the greatest influence on Krusi's work. In April, 1800, as the opportunity for founding a normal school did not arrive, Fischer, unable to wait any longer, accepted a post at Berne, where he was appointed professor of philosophy and pedagogy, with a seat on the Council of Education.

Krusi felt his loss very much, but endeavoured to make up for it by going to Berne every Sunday to receive advice, and render an account of the week's work.

Before long, however, Fischer fell ill and died. It was Pestalozzi who brought Krusi the sad news, and he proposed that they should unite their schools, and pursue together their common work.

Krusi unhesitatingly accepted, for he had already learned to understand Pestalozzi, and to see the importance of his educational views, which were similar in many respects to the opinions at which, in the course of his self-instruction, he had himself arrived.

And thus Pestalozzi found the very collaborator he was in need of, a man, that is, who was warm-hearted, intelligent, energetic, and devoted to teaching, and at the same time entirely free from routine and old-fashioned prejudices. Krusi differed also from most other teachers in underrating his own attainments. He remained with Pestalozzi till the decay of the Yverdun institute, successfully teaching the various elementary subjects, and winning especial distinction for his lessons in language and natural history.

His old pupils will always remember him with affection: the fine, dignified head; the high, open forehead and curly hair; the kind, intelligent eyes; and, above all, the never-changing expression of gentleness, simplicity, and goodwill. It was he especially that we liked to have for our guide in our mountain walks and excursions at Yverdun, when he would look after those of us who were small and weak not only like a father, but with all the care of the tenderest mother.

Whilst at Yverdun, Krusi married an under-mistress in Niederer's school, a lady in every respect worthy of him. After the fall of Pestalozzi's establishment, he went back to his native place, where he was entrusted first with the direction of the district school at Trogen, then with that of the normal school at Gais. It was at the latter place that in October, 1837, we had the pleasure of seeing our old master again, and spending some days with him.

He had acquired a large house situated a little above the village at the foot of the Gäbris. He and his family occupied the first floor; on the second, his eldest daughter, a pupil of Mrs. Niederer's, conducted a school for girls, and on the ground floor was the class-room of his training students, who lived, however, in the village. Next to the class-room was a model primary school, where Krusi taught the grandchildren of many who had been his pupils forty-four years before. He was now sixty-two years old; it was twenty years since we had left him, and he was scarcely altered. His energy seemed no whit abated. Lessons, games, walks, everything was the better for his goodness, ardour, and simple piety, which filled the house with harmony and joy, and encouraged earnestness in thought and work.

CHAPTER XI.

PESTALOZZI'S INSTITUTE AT BURGDORF.

Pestalozzi and Krusi unite their Schools in Burgdorf Castle. Tobler, Buss, and Naef join them. Appreciation of the new institution by the Society of the Friends of Education. Great success of the school. Its reputation in other countries. Visitors of note. The Government appoints a Commission to examine it. Official reports. The Petty Council decides to convert it into a training college for Switzerland. Counter-revolution in Switzerland. Pestalozzi deputed to attend the Consulta in Paris. Bonaparte and the Pestalozzian method. The Bernese Government resumes possession of Burgdorf Castle. Pestalozzi's institute transferred first to Munchenbuchsee, then to Yverdun.

PESTALOZZI was now safe, for he had found in Krusi a man who not only thoroughly entered into his ideas, and eagerly acted on his suggestions, but who had besides the strength and knowledge of the world that he himself lacked.

To unite the poor refugees from Appenzell with the children that the well-to-do families of Burgdorf had entrusted to him, Pestalozzi had need of much more room than had hitherto sufficed him. Thanks to the efforts of Stapfer, the Executive Council, by a decree of the 23rd of July, 1800, granted to Pestalozzi the gratuitous use of as much of the castle of Burgdorf as was necessary for his purpose, as well as that of a certain portion of the garden. They also agreed to supply him with a considerable quantity of wood.

The two little schools were then brought together in the rooms of the castle, and the two new friends began their work in common.

Krusi's account of their first efforts is as follows:

"Pestalozzi left me quite free. I was filled with admiration for his views, his work, and his past life. I felt myself encouraged by his trust, and was proud of his friendship. The appearance of our combined schools became more and more satisfactory every day, and the happiness of the children and their eagerness to learn soon attracted a good deal of attention."

Pestalozzi himself was less satisfied; he found himself hampered by the many differences of age, education, character, habits, and origin in the children thus united under his care. He felt the need, too, of more help, not only for his own greater freedom of action, but for the sake of his elementary instruction books, at which he was already working, and of which we shall have to say something further on, though neither the plan nor the execution was, in our opinion, at all satisfactory.

As soon as the summer holidays arrived, Krusi took the opportunity of paying a visit to his friend and compatriot, Tobler, who was a tutor in a family at Basle, and who, from his correspondence with Fischer, had already learned to know something of Pestalozzi. Krusi gave him an account of the new undertaking at Burgdorf and suggested that he should take part in it.

Tobler at once accepted. He had talent and imagination, and a great taste for study and teaching. His early education had been much neglected, but at twenty-two years of age, having suddenly decided to become a minister of the Gospel, he had begun to work seriously. Obliged, however, to earn his own living, he was fortunate enough to obtain a tutorship in Basle which left him leisure for private work. He had been working in this way for ten years with unflagging perseverance, when he became acquainted with Pestalozzi. He had never succeeded to his own satisfaction in imparting his knowledge to his pupils, and now he seemed to see in this man the very power that he himself lacked. He gladly embraced the opportunity of working with him, and hastened to Burgdorf.

Pestalozzi was still in need of a master to teach drawing and singing. Tobler recommended him a young man named Buss, who was at that time apprenticed to a bookbinder in Basle.

Buss had had a strange existence. His father was employed in the theological school at Tubingen, and had made him follow the Latin lessons from the time he was three till he was thirteen. When he was eight years old, a student taught him the piano. The student left however in six months' time, and the boy had to continue his music alone. He succeeded so well that, by the time he was twelve, he was sufficiently advanced to be able to take pupils. At eleven he had taken drawing-lessons, and was already studying Greek, Hebrew, logic, and rhetoric. His father hoped that he would be able to finish his studies without payment in the academy of science and art of Stuttgart, but this was declared to be impossible, "because he was of too low extraction." Greatly disheartened, and obliged to put his hand to something for a living, he became a bookbinder. In spite of this, however, he continued to cultivate his talent for music and drawing.

He was working in this way at Basle, with little taste for the trade he had chosen, when Tobler brought him Pestalozzi's offer. His friends advised him not to accept it, for they only knew the great teacher by his weak side. "He's all but a mad man," they said, "with whom it is better to have nothing to do; he never quite knows what he wants, and has even been seen in the streets of Basle with his shoes tied on with straw." This was a fact, for one day Pestalozzi, being anxious to help a poor man outside the town gates, and having no money, had given him his shoe-buckles. But Buss had read *Leonard and Gertrude*, and that was enough.

When Buss arrived at Burgdorf, Pestalozzi, who hurried to meet him, his hair and clothes in the greatest disorder, his stockings down, and his shoes covered with dust, produced for a moment anything but a favourable impression. Soon, however, the quickness of his intellect, together with his extreme kindliness and simpleness, had entirely won the sympathy and trust of the new comer.

On entering the schoolroom, Buss found nothing at first but noise and confusion, and it was some little time before he could understand what was going on. His first impression was that the children were kept too long at the elements; but when he saw how much power this gave them afterwards, he could not help feeling that if he himself had been taught in this way, he would have been in a position to carry on his studies by himself, and need never have been prevented from rising in the world.

Krusi's account of the masters with whom the Burgdorf institute opened is as follows:

> "Our society thus consisted of four very different men, brought together by a strange combination of circumstances: the founder, whose chief literary reputation was that of a dreamer, incapable in practical life, and three young men, one a private tutor, whose youth had been much neglected, who had begun to study late, and whose pedagogical efforts had never produced the results that his character and talents seemed to promise, another a bookbinder, who devoted his leisure to singing and drawing, and the third a village schoolmaster, who carried out the duties of his office as best he could without having been in any way prepared for them. Those who looked on this group of men, scarce one of them with a home of his own, naturally formed but a small opinion of their capabilities. And yet our work succeeded, and won the public confidence beyond the expectation of those who knew us, and even beyond our own."

This confidence was also excited from the very outset by a public testimony to the value of Pestalozzi's work, a testimony indeed of such importance, that we must lay it before our readers before we proceed to give the history of the Burgdorf institute.

The Commission that had been appointed by the Society of the Friends of Education to report on Pestalozzi's doctrine paid a visit to his school very shortly after Krusi had joined him. The results of their inquiry were drawn up by the secretary Luthi, and presented on the 1st of October, 1800, to a general meeting of the Society, held in the house of the Minister of Arts and Science, no longer Stapfer, but Mohr, of Lucerne. The report runs as follows:

> "The first thing we noticed was that Pestalozzi's children learn to spell, read, write, and calculate quickly and well, arriving in six months at results which an ordinary village schoolmaster would hardly bring them to in three years.
>
> "It is true that schoolmasters are not generally men like Pestalozzi, nor do they find assistants like those of our

friend. But it seems to us that this extraordinary progress depends not so much upon the teachers as upon the method of teaching.

"And what is this method? It is a method which simply follows the path of Nature, or, in other words, which leads the child slowly, and by his own efforts, from sense-impressions to abstract ideas. Another advantage of this method is that it does not unduly exalt the master, inasmuch as he never appears as a superior being, but, like kindly Nature, lives and works with the children, his equals, seeming rather to learn with them than to teach them with authority.

"Who does not know how ready the youngest children are to give everything a name, to put things together, and then take them to pieces again for the sake of new combinations? Who does not remember that he liked drawing better than writing? Who does not know that the most unlearned men are often the quickest at mental calculations? Who is ignorant that children, boys and girls, almost as soon as they can walk, delight in playing at soldiers, and in other forms of exercise?

"It is on these simple and well-known facts that Pestalozzi bases his method of instruction. Were it not for the fact that other men are daily making the same mistakes as teachers, we should be inclined to ask how it is that this idea never occurred to anybody before."

The report then goes on to speak of the use of movable letters for spelling and reading, slates for writing, and visible objects for teaching the children to count, and mentions that singing and walking often take the place of the regular lessons. It concludes as follows:

"So far as we have been able to judge, it is impossible to grasp the general idea of the method without having followed the exercises from the very beginning. It results from what we have said that Pestalozzi's system ought to be introduced into the whole of Switzerland; the advantages of such a step would be incalculable. Pestalozzi's earnest desire is that he may be able, with the help of his worthy collaborators, to make his method generally known, and instruct all schoolmasters in its use. The Commission cannot but join heartily in this desire, and would urge the Society to use all its influence towards enabling Pestalozzi to found in Burgdorf a normal school for primary teachers, to which, for the practical preparation of the pupils, a model school would be attached."

In consequence of this report, and the request of the Society of the Friends of Education, the Executive Council granted to Pestalozzi the sum of twenty pounds for the winter session which was about to commence.

At the same time, Schnell, the prefect of Burgdorf, published a pamphlet, in which he gave a more complete and appreciative exposition of Pestalozzi's views than had been contained in the report of the Commission.

It was on the 24th of October, 1800, that Pestalozzi announced the opening of his educational institution in the castle of Burgdorf, with a normal school for training teachers attached. Children of the middle class, living in the institution, would pay from sixteen to twenty pounds, according to the position of their parents.

The Society of the Friends of Education, seeing that the help furnished by the State would be far from sufficient for the needs of the new institution, had appointed a Commission to make a public appeal for subscriptions throughout Switzerland, emphasizing Pestalozzi's exceptional merits, and calling attention to the great advantages which would result to the country if his undertaking were properly supported.

This appeal appeared on the 20th of November. It states that Pestalozzi's desire is to found a poor-school in connection with the institution for middle-class children; it promises that there shall be religious observances for Catholics as well as Protestants, and entire liberty of conscience both for the children and teacher-students; it gives finally the names of certain people in each canton authorized to receive subscriptions. It is signed by the minister Rengger, and by Luthi, Usteri, and Fussli, members of the Legislative Council.

The Swiss newspapers which spoke of the enterprise approved or condemned it according to their political opinions. The very advanced ideas of Pestalozzi's youth were not yet forgotten, and he was generally looked on rather as an ardent friend of the revolution than as a man of genius and a devoted philanthropist.

In the critical condition of the country, the public subscription produced but very poor results. But Pestalozzi would not be beaten; and in spite of his poverty, he at once received the poor refugee children free of charge. Children who were able to pay had to wait till the place was ready for them.

The Burgdorf institute opened early in January, 1801. Pestalozzi himself had been obliged to help pay for the necessary repairs and furnishing, and now had to practise the strictest economy. Of all the establishments he founded, however, this is the one which most fully realized his views, and bore the most unmistakable stamp of his original genius, and it is this one that we must study if we wish to see the master's doctrine carried out in all its purity. We shall begin with the internal history of this institution, which only lasted three years and a half, but which carried afar the pedagogical reputation of its head. In another chapter we shall examine the educational principles on which it was founded, and the new works by which Pestalozzi sought to make them better known.

Ramsauer's memoirs, from which we have already quoted, contain certain graphic details about this period of Pestalozzi's life which are not to be found elsewhere, and which we therefore give in full:

"Of all Pestalozzi's pupils I was the first to be received into the establishment, and lodged in the castle; the second was my friend Egger, a refugee like myself, who was also received gratuitously. Once more this noble-hearted man thought more of others than of himself. For us, indeed, he was always loving and true as a father. My position being rather different from the rest, I was brought into special relations with him. As a pupil I had to be trained and educated, but as a child of the house I had to perform certain services for him. Under the name of "table-boy" I was entrusted with the various small domestic duties of which a child is capable, some of which, however, were by no means light, and some even scarcely suitable.

"Amongst the first was the duty of drawing water for use in the castle. The well was three hundred and eighty feet deep, and the water was drawn by walking in a hollow wheel of some twenty-four feet in diameter. This had to be done in all weathers, and was by no means a light task, especially in winter, when a bitter wind was blowing through the wheel.

"Whenever I think of that period of my life, I cannot help thanking God for His goodness in preserving us from evil amidst the conversation that the men and maidservants used to indulge in when we children were helping them, which we often did till midnight. Their unseemly behaviour might have done us all the more harm from the fact that in spite of our extreme youth we were left almost entirely to ourselves, and, after finishing our domestic duties, might, had we felt so inclined, have remained idle. But two of the other table-boys and myself (there were often six or eight of us) were happily so eager to learn that a spare quarter of an hour was always well employed. We looked on study indeed as our chief work, though at least half our day was always taken up with manual labour.

"But when on summer days we saw the troop of masters and children going down the castle hill, either to bathe in the limpid river below, or to climb the rocks on its banks, whilst we table-boys had to stay behind to work in the kitchen or cellar, or elsewhere, then often I could not keep back my tears. But now for many years I have thanked God that I so soon learned to obey, to do useful work, and to overcome my desires. Besides, I was all the happier when I did take part in these pleasures.

"And yet my occasional discouragement might perhaps have become intolerable, and prompted me to run away, if I had not had, besides Pestalozzi, another good genius to hold me fast, and make me forget my troubles. This was the widow of Pestalozzi's only son, Jacobli, an excellent woman, whose own sufferings had strengthened her, and filled her with compassion for the sufferings of others.

"For everybody in the institute she was a friend and protector, but for us table-boys she was a guardian angel. Afterwards, even when she had become the wife of kind Mr. Kuster, she continued for many years to share the household cares and labours of Pestalozzi's establishment, and was besides an invaluable friend to the girls' institute."

Ramsauer goes on to relate how his education progressed in spite of the small number and irregularity of the lessons in which he took part, how his eagerness to learn and Pestalozzi's kind attention made up for everything, and how at twelve years of age he himself was set to teach in certain small elementary classes. He then continues:

"During my stay at Burgdorf, I paid a visit every summer to my kind benefactress at Schleunen, who each time presented me with new clothes. These were all the more acceptable, from the fact that Pestalozzi was obliged to use what money he had to keep his institute going and could not possibly have afforded to give me any.

"I have said above how much progress I had made in drawing, arithmetic, and what was called the A B C of sense-impression.[1] Nor must I forget to mention singing. Although I was never called on to teach it, either from want of talent or want of time, it was one of the lessons which had the greatest charm for me, especially as it was taught in the early days of the institute.

"The thirty or forty children of both sexes of Pestalozzi's old school came from the town to the castle to take part in the singing lessons. Buss made his pupils sing as they walked up and down the big corridors of the castle, two and two, and holding each other's hands. That was our greatest pleasure; but our joy reached its height when our gymnastic master Naef, who was a most original man, joined us. He was an old soldier, who had seen service in nearly every part of the world. He looked a rough, bearded, surly giant enough, but as a matter of fact he was kindness itself. When he marched with a military air at the head of some sixty or eighty children, loudly singing a Swiss song as he went, nobody could help following him.

"Indeed, singing was one of our chief sources of pleasure in the institute. We sang everywhere—out of doors, on our walks, and, in the evening, in the court of the castle; and this singing together contributed in no small measure to the harmony and good feeling which prevailed amongst us. I must add that in spite of his rough exterior, Naef was the chief favourite with the children, for the simple reason that, as he was never so happy as in their society, he was always with them. He used to play, drill, walk, bathe, climb, throw stones with them, just like a big child, and in this way gained almost unlimited authority over them. And yet he had nothing of the pedagogue about him but the heart. . . .

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[1] Exercises in which the children made their own remarks on the objects placed before them.

"I must further say that in the first years of the Burgdorf institute, nothing like a systematic plan of lessons was followed, and that the whole life of the place was so simple and home-like, that in the half-hour's recreation which followed breakfast, Pestalozzi would often become so interested in the spirited games of the children in the playground as to allow them to go on undisturbed till ten o'clock. And on summer evenings, after bathing in the Emme, instead of beginning work again, we often stayed out till eight or nine o'clock looking for plants and minerals."

This testimony of Ramsauer as to the family life at Burgdorf is confirmed by an anecdote which deserves mention. A peasant, the father of a pupil, had come one day to visit the establishment. Very surprised at what he saw, he cried: "Why, this is not a school, but a family." "That is the greatest praise you can give me," answered Pestalozzi; "I have succeeded, thank God, in showing the world that there must be no gulf between the home and the school, and that the latter is only useful to education in so far as it develops the sentiments and the virtues which lend the charm and value to family life."

If the Burgdorf school thus presented the picture of a great family, it was only because Pestalozzi was a father for everybody, and lived but for others. His activity and love inspired the whole household. His assistants, who had a profound affection and veneration for him, were Krusi for language and arithmetic, Tobler for geography and history, Buss for geometry, drawing, and singing, and Naef for gymnastics and one or two elementary subjects.

Even the financial difficulty which weighed upon the establishment exercised a wholesome moral influence. The masters had refused good offers to remain with Pestalozzi, and went so far as to give up a portion of their salary, small as it was, to make up for his want of means. The pupils, on their side, contented themselves with little, and did all they could to keep down the expenses. It was indeed a practical school of sacrifice and renunciation.

The children's trust in their masters, their love and gratitude for them, took the place of rules and discipline; there were no rewards, and, except in very exceptional cases, no punishments; obedience was perfect because it was spontaneous. The children were lively and happy, they liked their lessons almost as well as their games, and it was not rare to see some of them stop in the middle of their play to go and work together before a blackboard or a map.

It was at Burgdorf that those sense-impressing lessons in natural history began which played so large and useful a part in all Pestalozzi's establishments. Such lessons are liked by the children, render their walks interesting, and help to develop tastes which may afterwards prove of extreme value. Krusi afterwards became a first-rate mineralogist, and gave most enjoyable and useful lessons; but in the early days at Burgdorf the masters were almost as ignorant of natural history as the children. Minerals and plants were indeed collected, examined, and described, but their classification was entirely a matter of individual taste. It was John Conrad Escher, of Zurich,[1] who first showed Krusi the differences between quartz, granite, etc., when on a visit to Burgdorf.

In spite of the success of the institute, the supply of money was small, and Pestalozzi's own resources were soon exhausted. As early as the 18th of February, 1801, the Executive Council had, at the request of the minister Mohr, agreed to continue yearly the grant of twenty pounds that had been voted to the Burgdorf institute on the 8th of October, 1800, and had further ordered that Pestalozzi should be supplied with twenty measures of firewood from the State forests in the canton of Berne. But on the 19th of April, Mohr, after spending a day at the Castle, made such a favourable report to the Council, that it was decided to raise the State grant to seventy pounds a year, payable quarterly. Many donations also came in from private people, amongst others one of twenty pounds from the wife of the French minister.

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[1] This was the engineer who, on account of his successful draining operations, was known as Escher of the Linth.

At the same time the reputation of the institute was spreading; the leading newspapers of the district spoke of it in the highest terms, the number of pupils steadily continued to increase, and before very long applications had to be refused for want of room.

On the 22nd of September, 1801, Mohr, in his report to the Executive Council, says:

> "Pestalozzi's institute in Burgdorf Castle, the first and only one of its kind, is attracting, by its now generally recognized usefulness, numerous pupils, whom the director, for want of habitable space, is obliged to refuse, to his own great regret, and to the prejudice of public education. It is urgent that the buildings already occupied by Pestalozzi should be enlarged by the addition of two large dormitories for pupils, and six small rooms for masters."

Although the Council had decided on the 5th of the preceding August that, considering the low state of the treasury, no repairs should be executed that year on any public building, it agreed to carry out the necessary improvements in Burgdorf Castle, which, it was estimated, would cost about a hundred and twenty pounds.

In October of the same year, Pestalozzi published *How Gertrude Teaches her Children*, a book which was intended to give the public a full and complete account of his doctrine and of his work. As this book is of such high importance, we must reserve a detailed examination of it for another chapter; we can only say here that it gained considerable notoriety in German-speaking countries, and attracted to Burgdorf numerous visitors, amongst whom were several very distinguished men.

The very next month, for instance, there arrived together Wessenberg and Charles Victor von Bonstetten. The latter speaks of his visit in a letter to Frederic Brun, written the evening of his arrival. The letter confirms all we have said above, and contains besides some very interesting comments. As it is, unfortunately, too long to quote in full, the following extracts must suffice:

> "I cannot understand why Pestalozzi should say that all

instruction is based on three chief elements—number, form, and language; but what I do see, and see clearly, is that his forty-eight children, of ages varying from five to twelve, have learned, in from six to ten months, writing, reading, drawing, and a little geography and French, and have besides made marvellous progress in arithmetic. They do everything cheerfully, and their health seems perfect. I know not whether Pestalozzi's method is good, nor whether, indeed, he has any reasoned-out method, but I see plainly that he is walking in unknown ways, and arriving at hitherto unknown results, and that, after all, is the most important consideration. . . .

"I look upon Pestalozzi's method as a precious seed, still young and undeveloped, but full of promise. The success the method has already obtained should suffice to convince any impartial thinker of its excellence. . . .

"As it will be long before there is another Pestalozzi, I fear that the rich harvest his discovery seems to promise will be reserved for future ages. It is a pity that he should have expressed his political opinions with so much warmth; in these revolutionary times it will but add another difficulty to those which have always to be overcome before complete justice can be done to an exceptional man. For forty years Pestalozzi has devoted his life to the education of poor children; let him who has done more for humanity cast the first stone! . . .

"The children know little, but what they know they know well. In my opinion, there could be nothing better than the Burgdorf school for children of eight or nine. But it will not bear fruit till upon this basis and in the light of this experience a new storey has been added to the edifice. . . .

"The children are very happy, and evidently take great pleasure in their lessons, which says a great deal for the method."

In December, 1801, a distinguished Swiss, who had lately visited the institute, published a very favourable account of it in a series of unsigned articles in an Augsburg paper. For the sake of avoiding repetition, we shall only quote the following few lines:

"I must confess that I arrived at Burgdorf with grave doubts as to the fitness, usefulness or success of the experiment which was being carried on there. But my fears gave place to confidence and joy when I saw how Pestalozzi and his helpers treated the children. On reaching home, I said to my friends: 'There is that going on at Burgdorf which deserves the respectful attention and support of all those who are interested in the happiness of humanity, and in the progress of public education.'"

The numerous visitors to the institute were particularly astonished by the children's progress in drawing and in the elements of geometry. A distinguished Nuremberg merchant, who had at first been much prejudiced against Pestalozzi's work, speaks thus:

"I was amazed when I saw these children treating the most complicated calculations of fractions as the simplest thing in the world. Problems which I myself could not solve without careful work on paper, they did easily in their heads, giving the correct answer in a few moments, and explaining the process with ease and readiness. They seemed to have no idea that they were doing anything extraordinary."

"At the Burgdorf institute," says another visitor, "children of from six to eight years draw difficult geometrical figures without rule or compass so correctly that no one would believe it who had not seen it."

"I have seen," says another, "a child of ten, who had only been a pupil of Pestalozzi's for ten months, reduce a map of Scandinavia to a smaller scale in an hour with such exactness as to defy the most searching examination."

These accounts may, indeed, be somewhat overdrawn, but they prove, at any rate, that Pestalozzi's method of teaching arithmetic had succeeded under Krusi's direction long before Joseph Schmidt took charge of this branch of instruction. This general consensus of opinion in favour of the new school still further increased its reputation, and made it more and more an object of public attention.

"An institute," it was said, "which produces these important results with such slender means is surely deserving of such support from the Government as will guarantee its continuance. Ought it not even to be utilized for a reform of public elementary education throughout Switzerland?"

Since the revolution of the 18th of October, 1801, Mohr had no longer been minister, and the Executive Council of the Republic had been replaced by a Petty Council. The latter, feeling the necessity of doing something for Pestalozzi, had appointed a Commission to visit the institute, in order that, before taking any decisive step, it might be in possession of reliable and detailed information as to its working.

The report of this Commission, drawn up by Ith, the president of the Council of Public Education in Berne, was presented in June, 1802.[1]

"On my first visit," he says, "I was full of distrust, and had thoroughly made up my mind not to let myself be dazzled by a brilliant theory, or carried away by the novelty of a few striking results." (p. 76.)

At that time there were some eighty children in the institute, of ages ranging from five to eighteen, and of almost every social condition. Amongst the number were twelve poor children, supported entirely by the establishment.

The report first endeavours to make clear the principles of the method invented by Pestalozzi, "who has discovered the real and universal laws of all elementary teaching." It then points to the excellence of the results already obtained, as established by the Commission in its late careful and thorough examination of the pupils, and especially praises the moral and religious life of the establishment, and the discipline, which, it points out, is entirely based upon affection. It recommends finally that the institute shall be turned into a normal school, to be supported by the State; that fixed salaries shall be allowed to all the masters, and that the projected new edition of Pestalozzi's works on elementary education shall be helped forward by a large subscription.

For Pestalozzi himself the Commission asked but one thing, which was that help should be given him to found a new home for orphans on his land at Neuhof, as soon as the opportunity offered. The fact is that Pestalozzi, satisfied with having made his method known, and with having found men capable of applying it, thought that his presence would soon be no longer needed at Burgdorf, and was already beginning to think of leaving the future management of the institute in the hands of his collaborators, and once more taking up the work to which he had always believed himself to be especially called. As rest from his long labours he looked forward to ending his days amid poor and destitute children, to whom he might be as a father.

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[1] Official Report on Pestalozzi's Institute, etc., Berne and Zurich, 1802.

In August, 1802, Burgdorf was visited by Soyaux, of Berlin, whom the *Jena Literary Gazette* reckoned amongst the opponents of the Pestalozzian method. And yet Soyaux has given an account of his visit in a pamphlet, which confirms the favourable testimony we have already quoted. He begins by summing up Pestalozzi's personality and character with wonderful insight and power of analysis. He then describes the different lessons at which he was present, and points out the remarkable development of the pupils' powers in arithmetic and drawing. Here again we can only give one or two short quotations:

> "Pestalozzi's method will, perhaps, meet with little approbation, but his principles and the tendency of his method will certainly have a most valuable influence.
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> "His discipline is based upon the principle that children must be allowed the greatest possible liberty, and that only when they abuse this liberty must they be interfered with. . . .
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> "The establishment contains in all a hundred and two persons, seventy-two of whom are pupils. These are mostly Swiss, and are drawn from every canton in the country, Catholic and Protestant alike. They are taught by ten masters. There are also a certain number of foreigners in the Castle, who are there to study the method.
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> "The institute is young, and Pestalozzi's principles are still in process of development. As they are not yet come to maturity, it follows that the organization of the establishment is still incomplete. Director and assistants are working with all their might to perfect the edifice. One tries to improve certain appliances, another seeks a natural way of teaching reading, numbers, etc. Would that all educational

establishments might present such a picture of concord and harmony, and betray the same zeal in advancing from progress to progress."

Meanwhile the Petty Council had adopted the suggestions of the Commission. A small salary had been granted to Pestalozzi and each of his masters; a normal school had been instituted in the Castle to which every month a dozen schoolmasters were to come for lessons; and lastly, with the help of the State, a second and cheap edition was being prepared of the books compiled in the institute.

Pestalozzi already saw the future of his work assured, and was on the point of realizing his most cherished desire, when the unitary Government was overthrown by a fresh revolution, and he found himself robbed, at one blow, not only of all his hopes, but of the position he had already acquired. It seemed, indeed, as though this man was fated to see the ground fail beneath his feet whenever he felt himself within reach of his end.

On the 17th of April, 1802, the Council had convoked in Berne an assembly of "notables," chosen by itself, for the purpose of drawing up in the name of the Republic a scheme for a new constitution. This scheme was unanimously adopted by the Assembly on the 19th of May, and on being submitted to the votes of the electors throughout Switzerland, was accepted by two hundred and twenty-eight thousand citizens out of three hundred and two thousand entitled to vote, those who abstained from voting being counted as accepting. On the 3rd of July, the acceptance of the constitution was proclaimed at Berne and the new Government was formed. As a consequence of this, the country was soon afterwards evacuated by the French troops that had hitherto occupied it.

This was the signal for a rising which spread from the smaller cantons over well-nigh the whole of Switzerland. The Swiss army had to retreat before the insurgent troops, and the Government, that on the 2nd of September had decided to ask for "the kind services and intervention of the French Government," was compelled, on the 19th, to withdraw from Berne. It had taken refuge at Lausanne, where its only protectors were the Vaudese militia, when a proclamation from the First Consul Bonaparte arrived and put an end to the hostilities. The French Government consented to act as mediator, and with a view to ascertaining the best means of restoring union and tranquillity amongst all parties, convoked at Paris a "Consulta," composed of deputies from the Helvetian Senate, the cantons, and any communes that wished to send them.

Pestalozzi had just published a conciliatory political pamphlet, and was now chosen by the village of Kirchberg to represent it at the Consulta. He was also chosen by canton Zurich, in company with Usteri and ex-director Laharpe.

The first meeting of the Consulta took place in Paris on the 10th of December, 1802. The First Consul had appointed a Commission to confer with the Swiss deputies, composed of Barthélemy, the president of the Conservative Senate, and formerly ambassador in Switzerland; Fouché, of Nantes; and Roederer and Desmeuniers, councillors of state. There were two opposing parties in the Consulta: one composed of forty-five members, amongst whom was Pestalozzi, for the most part favourable to the new ideas; the other, a minority of sixteen, who asked more or less explicitly for a return to the old state of things.

Pestalozzi's almost unintelligible French and his eccentric appearance were much against his getting a hearing in Paris; nor could he confine himself to the political questions under discussion, but tried to make the occasion an opportunity for expounding his educational ideas in France. He therefore exercised little or no influence in the Consulta, although Roederer was at that time displaying both zeal and talent in the matter of public instruction.

Pestalozzi was eager to obtain an audience of the First Consul, but his request was refused, Bonaparte saying that he had something else to do than consider questions of A B C. He instructed Senator Monge, however, to hear what Pestalozzi had to say.

Monge, the inventor of descriptive geometry, and the founder of the Polytechnic school, was a man of large mind and keen intellect. He listened patiently to Pestalozzi, asking question after question till he was satisfied that he had thoroughly understood him, but after carefully considering the plans the old man had proposed, he replied in half-a-dozen words: "It is too much for us."

As soon as Pestalozzi saw that he could do nothing in Paris, he forsook the Consulta to return to his work at Burgdorf. As he entered the Castle, Buss said to him: "Well, did you see Bonaparte?" "No," replied Pestalozzi; "nor he me."[1] These words, though they were spoken with a smile, may perhaps appear presumptuous. And yet, if Pestalozzi merely expressed his sense of his own worth by them, he was not deceived, for of these two men there is one whose memory will be blessed by posterity in all lands, and it is not he whom his contemporaries called "the great." Bonaparte did France an immense wrong by rejecting Pestalozzi's ideas, ideas so soon to be accepted by Prussia. But Bonaparte's desire was to be master of the people, whereas Pestalozzi's one effort was to set them free.

We may here mention an anecdote related by Pompée in the book already quoted, and, so far as we are aware, to be found nowhere else. We give it in his own words:

"General Ney, the French ambassador in Berne, was in the habit of paying not infrequent visits to the Burgdorf institute, of which he had formed a very high opinion, and of which he gave an account to the First Consul. . . . (p. 127.)

"If Bonaparte had been unwilling to concern himself with Pestalozzi's questions of A B C when the latter was in Paris as a Swiss deputy, he had at any rate readily accepted Ney's suggestion that the new system should be introduced into French schools. Naef, one of the Burgdorf masters, was accordingly sent to Paris. He commenced his teaching in an orphan asylum, where a certain number of children were entrusted to him by the commissioners of charitable institutions. Napoleon was anxious to see for himself the results obtained, and visited the asylum, accompanied by Talleyrand, the United States ambassador, and several other distinguished personages. He watched several lessons, and was very satisfied with all he saw. A Commission was then appointed to render an account of the experiment, and De Wailly, the head of the Lycée Napoléon, expressed in his report the opinion that the method might prove to be very useful for children intended for the mechanical arts.

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[1] This was told us by Buss himself.

"After this, Maine, of Biran, the sub-prefect of Bergerac, had brought into Dordogne a Burgdorf master named Barraud, whom he had entrusted with the management of an establishment in which he was greatly interested. Public servant and philosopher, he used all his influence against routine, never losing an opportunity of recommending the application of Pestalozzi's principles and of making known in public meetings and elsewhere what had already been done.

"'We have just seen,' he says, on one of these occasions, 'that this school, still in its infancy, has nevertheless adopted educational methods of a very high order, methods, indeed, which are entirely in accordance with man's nature and the progressive development of his faculties.' (p. 254 and following.)

"Whilst every Government in Europe was thus seeking to introduce a new system of instruction into its elementary schools, a private American citizen, Mr. MacLure, endowed his native country with such an establishment of public instruction as would have compared favourably with any of the best European schools. A strange chance put him in the way of thus effecting these great improvements in the educational system of his country. Being in Paris in 1804, and having a great desire to see Napoleon, he applied for assistance to the United States ambassador, who accordingly took him with him on the occasion of the First Consul's visit to Naef to test the results of his experiment on the orphan children that had been entrusted to him.

"During the time that the lessons lasted, MacLure was entirely absorbed in the contemplation of Napoleon, and saw nothing else; but on going out, he heard Talleyrand say, 'This is too much for the people.' Struck by these words, he went back into the room and ascertained from Naef the object of the meeting. As he was profoundly convinced of the necessity of improving the condition of the poor, he at once saw how much might be done in this direction by Pestalozzi's system, and offered Naef the most favourable terms if he would go to Philadelphia and found a Pestalozzian institute." (p. 270 and following.)

We have spoken of Pestalozzi's success at Burgdorf, and of the great reputation his institute had acquired in Switzerland and elsewhere. He himself, however, did not share in the general admiration, and was by no means satisfied with what he had done. At the end of his life he declared publicly that in founding the Burgdorf institute he had made a mistake. It may be thought that this opinion was not formed till later, and was the result of his many troubles, but, as a matter of fact, as early as 1803 he felt himself out of place at Burgdorf, and, still faithful to the dreams of his youth, longed to leave the institute and devote himself to founding another poor-school. That this was his state of mind is evident from a letter he wrote to his friend Fellenberg, who had asked him to visit him.

Pestalozzi replied in these words:

> "A thousand thanks for your warm invitation, but I will not and, indeed, cannot thrust my troubles upon my friends. It is my duty, and it is within my power, to see to my own cure. When I have done so, I shall be able to enjoy the friendship of men; but till I am entirely satisfied with myself no one can soothe my troubled heart. Help me to sell my books, so as to forward the one object of my life, my poor-school. There, in silence and retirement, I shall look for such repose as is to be found behind bolts and bars. Oh, my friend, I can hardly express to you the state of internal discord in which I am living. The means, however, of my deliverance increase daily. Farewell; I am a prey to such melancholy as I have never before experienced, but it will pass away."

Meanwhile the act of mediation which had been signed on the 19th of February, 1803, had re-established Federalism in Switzerland. The unitary Government ceased to exist, and with it vanished all Pestalozzi's hopes of future support. But his work was by this time too well known to be thus easily destroyed. The Governments of Aargau, Lucerne, and Zurich showed a disposition to support the institute, the last-named voting a sum of forty pounds towards the publication of the elementary books. The Swiss Diet, assembled at Freiburg, instructed a Commission to examine what could be done to help on the fulfilment of Pestalozzi's philanthropic views, but we have not been able to discover whether it ever published a report.

The newly constituted Government of canton Berne, however, had resumed possession of the castle of Burgdorf and made it once more the residence of the prefect of the district. Although the Government had little sympathy for Pestalozzi, whom it considered a revolutionary and a friend of unitarism, it had not been able to leave his institute without a home, and had made over to him the use of an old convent at Munchenbuchsee, about three miles from Berne, and near Emmanuel Fellenberg's agricultural and philanthropical establishment at Hofwyl. It was in June, 1804, that Pestalozzi left Burgdorf, and transferred his institute to Munchenbuchsee.

Before following him to this new centre of activity, we must add a few details of his life at Burgdorf, where he spent, as it seems to us, his happiest years.

After the death of his son in 1801, his wife had left Neuhof and rejoined him at Burgdorf. She was low-spirited and in ill-health; and, being unable to bear all the bustle and noise of such a large establishment, hardly ever left her room. She managed the accounts, however, as well as a certain portion of the correspondence, for Pestalozzi was too preoccupied and absent-minded, too busy and too impatient, to be trusted with any work demanding regular and close attention.

Mrs. Pestalozzi's room was next to the large refectory, where Pestalozzi and the masters took their meals with the pupils. From this room, as well as from the balconies and terraces of the Castle, there was a splendid view. At one's feet lay the green valley of the Emme, with its rich and varied cultivation, and far away in the distance were the snowy summits of the Oberland Alps.

At this time a part of the Castle buildings was still used as a prison for the unfortunate criminals of the district. In this connection Ramsauer tells a most characteristic story:

"There was a famous criminal called Bernhard, big and strong as a giant, who had several times escaped from prison, and each time been brought back to the Castle and confined in a still deeper dungeon. On these occasions Pestalozzi would slip a piece of money into his hands, saying: 'If you had received a good education, and had learned to use your powers for good ends, you would now be a useful member of society, and instead of being obliged to put you in a hole and chain you up like a dog, people would honour and respect you.' I myself, when I could obtain permission from Pestalozzi and the gaoler, used sometimes to visit Bernhard, and, in spite of his horrible underground cell, I always did so with pleasure, for he was a candid, straightforward, and remarkably intelligent man."[1]

There is another anecdote of this period, which shows with what energy Pestalozzi could overcome sickness and suffering. One day, when he was confined to his bed by a sharp attack of rheumatism, the French ambassador, Reinhardt, came to the Castle to visit the institute. In spite of doctor and friends, Pestalozzi insisted on getting up. As he could scarcely stand, and could only be dressed with extreme difficulty, everybody implored him to go to bed again, pointing out how little fit he was to do what he wanted; but he turned a deaf ear to all their entreaties, and, supported by friendly arms, painfully dragged himself out of his room. As soon as he saw the ambassador, however, he shook himself free, and began eagerly to expound his doctrine. The more he talked, the more he seemed to regain strength and brightness, and when at last he ceased, his rheumatism had disappeared.

At the time of which we are speaking, Fellenberg and Pestalozzi had been friends for twenty years; it will be remembered that portions of their correspondence have already been quoted. Now it happened one day that some of Fellenberg's workmen brought him a poorly dressed man, whom they had found, they said, in the fields, half dead with hunger and fatigue. This man turned out to be no other than Pestalozzi, who, carried away by his passion for minerals, had wandered such a long distance filling his handkerchief and pockets with them, that he had lost his way, and, at last, fallen down dead-tired beside a ditch. It was about the same time, too, that Pestalozzi, dragging wearily along one evening near the gates of Soleure, with his handkerchief full of stones, was arrested by the police as a beggar and suspicious character, and taken before the judge. The judge was out, and the old man had to wait a long time in the ante-chamber with his custodian. Great was the latter's astonishment when the judge, on his return, recognized Pestalozzi, and, after greeting him warmly, invited him to supper.

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[1] *Notes on Pestalozzi*, Ramsauer and Zahn, vol. i., p. 27. Elberfeld and Meurs, 1846.

Fellenberg was a skilful agriculturist and an excellent administrator. Though a man of noble and lofty views, he was eminently practical, and his activity was always wisely directed. He possessed, indeed, in a marked degree the very qualities which Pestalozzi lacked. He had voluntarily renounced the brilliant career that his birth and talents would assuredly have thrown open to him, in order to devote his fortune and ability to undertakings of public utility.

His establishments at Hofwyl had the double object of forming active, intelligent, and honest workmen amongst the poor, and skilled agriculturists amongst the rich. It was obvious, therefore, that the two friends could be of much assistance to each other in their respective undertakings, and Fellenberg suggested to the old man that they should work together, Fellenberg taking entire control of the financial department, and Pestalozzi, freed from responsibilities for which he had neither taste nor capacity, controlling the combined establishments in all educational matters.

At first Pestalozzi accepted; but he and Fellenberg were made rather to respect each other than to live together. There was as much difference in their characters and ways of thinking and feeling as in their habits and outward appearance. Fellenberg, though at bottom kind and generous, had a stern, masterful manner. Pestalozzi, who used to call him "the man of iron," found the partnership anything but helpful, and could not make up his mind to remain at Munchenbuchsee.

Several towns were anxious to receive him, amongst others Payerne, Yverdun, and Rolle in the canton of Vaud. Thinking that to be established in a French-speaking country would encourage the spread of his method, he chose Yverdun.

"He left Munchenbuchsee, then, on the 18th of October, 1804, after having taken a touching farewell of his masters and pupils. He arrived at Yverdun without knowing what would become of him, and so entirely destitute of resources, that he had to share a single room with Krusi and Niederer. He was living thus when he received a present of four pounds from the King of Denmark, as a token of gratitude for the hospitality that he had shown to two Danes (Torlitz and Strohm) who had been sent by their Government to Burgdorf to study his method.

"But however pressing his personal needs may have been, his first thought was for his friendless children, whom Fellenberg had been very reluctant to keep. He now sent for them, and placed them with Buss and Barraud, who at that time were laying the foundations of a Pestalozzian institute at Yverdun." (Pompée, p. 141.)

The castle of Yverdun needed thorough repair before an institute could be opened in it. The work, however, proceeded so slowly, that Pestalozzi decided, in the meantime, to open a temporary school in a small set of rooms looking on the Rue du Four, in a house which to-day is No. 51, Rue du Milieu.

Pestalozzi had left behind him at Munchenbuchsee about seventy pupils, with Tobler, de Muralt, Schmidt, von Türck,[1] Steiner, and a few under-masters. Tobler, who was perfectly capable in every respect, had been entrusted with the management of all educational matters, but Fellenberg, though he was only supposed to control the finance, soon began to exercise an undue influence in everything.

To show the effect of this influence on the institute we cannot do better than quote the following passage from Ramsauer:

"At Munchenbuchsee I was unhappy for the first time in my life. I was still table-boy and under-master, but I had nobody to comfort my heart. We missed particularly the love and warmth which pervaded everything at Burgdorf, and made us all so happy. With Pestalozzi the heart was first, with Fellenberg, the mind. . . .

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[1] Von Türck, an Oldenburg magistrate, had been sent by the Grand Duke to Burgdorf. He published a book called *Letters from Munchenbuchsee*, which was one of the first works to give a clear account of Pestalozzi's method, and one of those that most helped to make it known in Germany. He afterwards opened a boarding-school in Yverdun, the pupils of which attended the day-classes in Pestalozzi's institute.

"And yet Munchenbuchsee had its good points too; there was more order there, and we learned more than at Burgdorf. . . .

"In February, 1805, to my great joy, Pestalozzi sent for me to go back to him to Yverdun, where I once more found a father's love, and my dear masters, Krusi and Buss. A few months later the whole institute had rejoined Pestalozzi in Yverdun Castle."

CHAPTER XII.

PESTALOZZI'S BOOKS AND METHOD AT BURGDORF.

"*How Gertrude Teaches Her Children.*" "*How to Teach Spelling and Reading.*" "*Book for Mothers.*" *Elementary Teaching on Number and Form.* "*The Natural Schoolmaster.*"

PESTALOZZI had no sooner opened his institute at Burgdorf than he was anxious to give the public some more complete account than they had yet had of his life work and of the views which he was endeavouring to put into practice. He accordingly published the book entitled: *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children; an Attempt to Show Mothers how they can Teach their Children Themselves.*

Morf, whose estimate of Pestalozzi's work at Stanz we have already quoted, speaks of this book as follows:

> "This book is the most important and the most carefully thought out of all Pestalozzi's pedagogical writings. Not only was its importance great at the time at which it appeared, but it will remain great for ever. The true characteristics of his genius stand out free as yet from all foreign influence. His own thoughts, expressed in his own words, give us the most faithful picture of this noble heart. We are filled with admiration at the fulness of his intuitions—I might almost say of the revelations of which Providence had made him the instrument. From the beginning to the end of this work our attention and interest never flag. Here and there we may object to certain of his methods, but never to his principles and conclusions. And even though experience has enabled us to improve on certain points, we are bound to admit with gratitude that this improvement has only been reached by following the lines originally laid down by Pestalozzi. This book is to-day and will ever remain the foundation stone of all

instruction for the people, but its hidden treasures are still far from having been all put into practice, and we cannot too earnestly urge all those who are engaged or interested in education to make a serious study of it."

We must, however, add that this book is by no means free from the defects of most of Pestalozzi's writings. The author is too easily carried away by his heart and imagination; the wealth and abundance of his ideas interfere with the order of the general plan and the proportion of the various parts. The digressions and repetitions are innumerable, though it is fair to say that when the same ideas reappear, it is always in a new light.

A simple analysis of the work would give but a very imperfect idea of it; we prefer to run rapidly through it with our readers, calling attention to the most essential principles, and translating the most characteristic passages.

The book consists of fifteen letters addressed to Gessner. The first, which briefly reviews the author's life and work, and his efforts towards raising the people, begins thus:

"My dear Gessner, you say that it is time I made some public statement of my ideas about the education of the people. I shall be only too glad to do so, and will endeavour in a series of letters to set forth my views as clearly as possible.

"Seeing popular education lying before me like an immeasurable swamp, I plunged into its slime, and, by exerting all my strength, waded toilsomely through, till I at last discovered the sources of its waters, the reason of their stagnation, and the means of reclaiming the ground.

"I will now take you with me for a moment into this labyrinth, from which, by good fortune rather than by good judgment, I have at last found a way out."

After giving a description of the intellectual poverty in which the schools of his time left the people, and the history of his various unsuccessful attempts to remedy it, Pestalozzi proceeds to sum up the aim of his work as follows:

"Ah, how happy I shall be in my grave if in what I am doing for popular education I can succeed in uniting Nature and Art, now so widely separated! That they should be separated at all is sad enough, but that the wickedness of men should have so opposed them to each other as to render them utterly incompatible, fills me with indignation."

The second and third letters relate Pestalozzi's meeting with Krusi, Tobler, and Buss, and the valuable assistance that these men had rendered to him and his work.

The fourth, fifth, and sixth set forth the general principles of his method.

In the fourth he endeavours to formulate the laws of instruction.

In the fifth he begins by declaring that these laws do not satisfy him because he cannot find any general principle to express their essential character. He then goes on to search for the natural sources of human knowledge.

In the sixth letter Pestalozzi says that in spite of the trouble he is taking to explain his views, he is doing it very imperfectly, because for twenty years he has lost the power of philosophizing; that is, of expressing his ideas in a philosophical manner. He points out that for many centuries, reading, writing, and arithmetic have been regarded as the elements of instruction, but that they are not really the elements. His investigations have shown him that the true elements are sound (language), number, and form. At every new appearance, we ask: What is it? (name), How many objects? (number), What is it like? (form). In thus reducing instruction to its really simplest elements, we bring Art into harmony with Nature, for in this way all knowledge is made to result from the very first manifestations by which Nature acts on men.

The seventh letter is devoted to the elementary teaching of language, but Pestalozzi afterwards considerably modified, and in many cases entirely abandoned, the methods which are here described.

The eighth is concerned with the elementary teaching of form by sense-impression, from which the child learns to judge of size, to draw, and to write.

He must first be made familiar with the simple elements of all form: straight lines, angles, etc., and be taught to measure their length and size with his eye. Only when he has done this will he be able to draw successfully, reproduce on his slate, that is, the various lines, angles, and simple figures which are put before him.

These first lessons in linear drawing serve to train his eye and hand, and are thus a preparation for writing. He writes at first on his slate, beginning with the easiest letters, and with words formed from them. Before very long, however, he will be able to use pen and paper.

In teaching drawing, Pestalozzi makes great use of the square, which possesses several important advantages:

In the first place, it serves in ordinary drawing as a sort of basis for an infinite number of rectangular figures and patterns that the child can invent, vary, and develop, according to his fancy. In the next place, if divided into smaller squares or rectangles, it furnishes an admirable sense-impressing introduction to the study of geometry and the measurement of surfaces.

Lastly, this division of the square produces the table of fractions of fractions, by the help of which children acquire great facility in mental calculations with fractions.

Pestalozzi then speaks of the elementary books that he is planning: The *A B C of Sense-Impression*, and the *Book for Mothers*. He hopes that these books will enable mothers to instruct their children themselves.

It must be observed that these sense-impressing lessons in form, as they are described in this letter, were somewhat modified by Pestalozzi as his experiment progressed.

The ninth letter treats of the elementary teaching of numbers by sense-impression. The author begins by pointing out that, in the study of language and form, certain means and ideas have to be made use of which are foreign to the particular end. Amongst these is the testimony of the senses, often so liable to error. On the other hand, operations with numbers need no outside help, and always furnish us with exact results. Certain other sciences furnish us with exact results, too; but this is only because they depend on the science of numbers. Hence the immense importance of this subject of instruction, which not only develops the intellect, but is of such great practical utility.

Pestalozzi then shows that all arithmetical calculation consists in increasing or decreasing numbers by various methods which are simply intended to shorten the repetition of the formula: one and one are two, one from two is one.

But these abbreviations, which are all that is learnt in the school, have the disadvantage of becoming a mere matter of memory, and of destroying the intuitive conception of number. Thus we may have learnt by heart that four and three are seven, and feel that we have reached a certain definite result; but this result is not really ours, we have accepted it on trust, possibly without even knowing what the number seven represents. Without sense-impressing exercises the child can know nothing of numbers themselves; he can only know their names, and these may remain entirely without meaning for him for a long time.

For these exercises Pestalozzi first employs his "table of units," in which each unit is represented by a line, so that up to a hundred the child can make all operations of addition, subtraction, multiplication and division, as it were by sight. And so afterwards, when he works in his head, he has a clear and exact idea of the numbers he uses, because he always thinks of them as collections of lines, and sees the numbers themselves instead of the conventional figures which represent them.

Then comes the "table of fractions," which was composed of squares, some whole, others divided horizontally into two, three, or even ten equal parts. From this the child learnt by sense-impression to count these parts of the unit, to form them into wholes, etc.

Then comes a "table of fractions of fractions," in which the squares were divided not only horizontally, but vertically, so that the method for reducing two fractions to the same denominator was self-evident.

In all these sense-impressing exercises on numbers, it is chiefly the attention, observation, and judgment of the child which are brought into play, and which, with a little help from the master, teach him to find out for himself what he has to learn, and state it in his own words. It would be a great mistake to see nothing but an exercise of memory in all this.

This part of the method was still further developed and improved by Pestalozzi after the publication of the work we are considering.

The tenth letter treats of sense-impression, as Pestalozzi calls all direct and experimental perception, whether in the physical or moral world. Sense-impressed ideas are those which result immediately from these perceptions. Descriptions, explanations, and definitions will all remain without effect on the child's mind, unless he has already acquired a basis of sense-impressed ideas for them to rest upon. That being granted, we can sum up this whole letter in a few lines.

Sense-impression is the only basis of instruction, but for a very long time it has been completely neglected in education. After the invention of printing, the value of books was strangely exaggerated. Books were confused with knowledge, words with ideas. Nothing but books was employed in the schools, and men thought that by teaching the child to read—articulate, that is, the sound of different groups of letters—they were throwing open to him the gate of universal knowledge. And so men of books and words were made,—men of *letters*, indeed, but in the narrowest and most literal acceptation of the term,—and that unceasing and irrational love of talk began, which misleads and bewilders us by a deluge of words to which, in most men's minds, there are no precise ideas to correspond.

It was the same, too, for the moral and religious development. After the Reformation, the mania for dogmatizing was carried even into the education of little children, in order that they might be trained betimes in the methods of controversy. Instead of trying to open their hearts to the sentiments of faith, piety and virtue, people began by making them commit a catechism to memory; a set of abstract doctrines, that is, which could do little either for the minds or hearts of young children. Here again teaching is concerned with nothing but words.

In acting thus for so long, the schools were not only forsaking the path of Nature, but entirely neglecting the valuable impressions that spring from the direct observation of things and life, as well as all questions of personal and practical virtue.

Pestalozzi finishes this letter in the following words:

"Europe, with its system of popular instruction, was bound sooner or later to fall into error, or rather into the disorder which is threatening to ruin society. On the one hand, an immense height has been reached in science and art; on the other, the very foundations of a natural culture for the mass of the people have been lost. Just as no part of the world has ever before risen so high, so none has ever fallen so low. Our continent is like the colossus spoken of by the prophet; its head of gold reaches to the clouds, but the feet which should support it are of clay. . . .

"In Europe the culture of the people has ended by becoming an empty chattering, fatal alike to real faith and real knowledge; an instruction of mere words and outward show, unsubstantial as a dream, and not only absolutely incapable of giving us the quiet wisdom of faith and love, but bound, sooner or later, to lead us into incredulity and superstition, egotism and hardness of heart. But however this may be, the development of the mania for words and books, which pervades our whole system of popular education, has undoubtedly taught us at least one thing, and that is, that it is impossible for us to remain any longer as we are.

"Everything confirms me in my opinion that the only way of escaping a civil, moral and religious degradation, is to have done with the superficiality, narrowness, and other errors of our popular instruction, and recognize sense-impression as the real foundation of all knowledge."

In the eleventh letter, Pestalozzi speaks of self-impression as being the method employed by a mother. Prompted by her instinct and her affection, she introduces her child to Nature, now leading it nearer to distant objects, now bringing it those by which it is attracted. She does this either to soothe her child or amuse it; she has as yet no thought of teaching, and yet she is thus supplying the first and most indispensable element of all instruction. Why does the art of teaching refuse to build upon these simple and precious foundations? The Swiss mother hangs over her child's cradle a coloured paper-bird, which thus becomes the object of its first regards, first gestures and first games. In doing this she is opening a path in which we should do well to follow. The first part of the *Book for Mothers* (it was not yet written) will show how this good beginning may be continued by sense-impressing exercises in form, number and language. Words that are imperfectly understood may affect the whole future development of the child, for they introduce an element of confusion into his mental conceptions, an element of unsoundness into his judgments. Many of our contemporaries are striking instances of this.

"The course of Nature in the development of humanity is invariable, it is therefore impossible that there should be two equally good methods of teaching. One only is good, and it is that which is entirely based upon the eternal laws of Nature; the others are bad precisely in proportion to their neglect of these laws. Neither I nor any other man am as yet in possession of this one good method, nor can we hope to do more than reach it slowly and gradually."

Further on, after saying that the child must first be taught to see properly and properly describe what he sees, and that definitions should not come till afterwards, Pestalozzi adds:

"The wisdom produced by premature definitions is like the mushroom, which grows fast in the rain, but dies at the first touch of the sun.

"The child must learn the first elements perfectly and completely.

"Any incompleteness will be a defect that will always make itself felt, and tend to prevent his nature from developing in its entirety. This is as true of the mind as of a garden.

"The empire of the senses must be subordinated to the essential end of our nature; that is, to the moral spiritual law. . . . It is only his inner spiritual life that can give a man self-control, freedom and contentment. . . . The education of our race, then, must be dissociated from our sensual nature; which is, blind, and leads only to death, and entrusted to our moral and spiritual nature, which is Divine and eternal."

In the twelfth letter, Pestalozzi begins by calling attention to what he had said twenty years before, in the preface to *Leonard and Gertrude*:

"I stand aloof from men's quarrels about their opinions; but whatever makes them pious, honest, believing, and gentle, whatever can bring the love of God and their neighbour into their hearts, and happiness and blessing into their homes, that, I fancy, is beyond dispute, and is accepted by all."

He then points out that his educational work is independent of the opinions by which men are divided, and that his method is therefore beneficial for all nations, no matter what their religious faith or form of government. This explains why he henceforth avoids all dogmatism in speaking of religion. And yet, in all he does he relies on God's providence, often even, though with less definiteness, on redemption through Jesus Christ. He knew that, in the minds of that portion of humanity to which he was addressing himself, these two points were "beyond dispute," but to-day, when such an illusion would no longer be possible, what would he do? Would he think it possible to do without God in education? We cannot believe it. So far as instruction in the proper sense of the word is concerned, his method is, it is true, independent of religion, but in the school, as in the home, it is impossible to give even instruction without the help of the child's will, and the will depends upon the moral development. Moral education, therefore, is intimately connected with the rest of the master's work; it is an integral, necessary part of an indivisible organism. "And this moral development," says Pestalozzi, "results from the influence of a pious mother who prays with her child."

Further on, Pestalozzi declares that he is far from having settled the whole question of education; that in his endeavour to help the people he has only discovered a few leading principles, and that he deplores his incapacity to formulate and apply them more thoroughly.

"And so when I affirm positively that all a man's powers are part of an organic whole, I by no means wish to imply that I am thoroughly acquainted either with this organism or its laws; and when I say that, in teaching, a rational method must be followed, I do not pretend either to have always pursued this method, or to have worked out all its details."

Pestalozzi then goes on to say that though he has devoted his life to efforts to help the people, he has never yet succeeded. He recognizes that the fault is his own, and, deeply repentant, concludes sorrowfully thus:

"I have lost everything and lost myself; and yet, O God, Thou hast kept my life's desire alive within me. Thou hast not blotted out before me the aim which has caused my sorrows, as Thou dost before so many thousands who ruin their own lives, but Thou hast preserved my work in spite of my errors. I was drawing near to my tomb in hopelessness, but Thou hast filled my evening with brightness and softened the sorrows of my life. I am not worthy, Lord, of Thy compassion and trust. Thou alone hast had pity on the crushed worm; Thou hast not broken the bruised reed, nor quenched the smoking flax, nor hast Thou ever averted Thy face from the offering which, from my childhood, I have striven, but striven in vain, to bring to the outcasts of the world."

The thirteenth letter begins with a digression upon the abuse of language. When from the outset language is the spontaneous and faithful expression of thought, it is at the same time its principal means of development, and gives it force and precision; but when from childhood it is but the repetition or imitation of other people's language, when the words it employs express ideas which are still unfamiliar to him who pronounces them, then language does little to develop thought, nay, it paralyzes and destroys it. Hence the empty, idle babbling that fills the world.

Pestalozzi then comes back to the reform of elementary education, and points out yet another need which it must satisfy.

Knowledge is not everything; judgment and readiness in action are also necessary. The practical powers also require that the senses and limbs should be subjected to a graduated series of exercises, beginning with what is simplest and easiest. The power of applying what we know depends for its development upon the same organic laws as regulate the acquisition of knowledge.

The organism of Nature is the same in man as in plants and animals; it regulates alike his physical nature, his moral nature, and the development of his practical powers.

Humanity in its deepest degradation never loses the sense of the need there is for developing its practical side for the purpose of obtaining the necessaries of life.

Just as an A B C of intellectual development is necessary, so must we have an A B C of practical development; for as a child's knowledge and intelligence are confused by putting definitions before actual experience, so his heart and conscience are confused by talking to him of faith and virtue before he has had any actual experience of what faith and virtue really are.

The fourteenth and fifteenth letters, which end the work, are devoted to the question of moral and religious development. Here we must let Pestalozzi speak for himself:

"I am unwilling to bring these letters to an end without touching on what I may call the key-stone of my whole system. Is the love of God encouraged by these principles which I hold to be the only sound basis for the development of humanity?

"Once again I look into my own heart for an answer to my question, and ask myself: 'How does the idea of God take root in my soul? Whence comes it that I believe in God, that I abandon myself to Him, and feel happy when I love Him and trust Him, thank Him and obey Him?'

"Then I soon see that the sentiments of love, trust, gratitude and obedience must first exist in my heart before I can feel them for God. I must love men, trust them, thank them and obey them, before I can rise to loving, thanking, trusting and obeying God. 'For he who loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how shall he love his Father in heaven whom he hath not seen?'

"I next ask myself, 'How is it that I come to love men, to trust them, to thank them and obey them? How do these sentiments take root in my heart?' And I find that it is principally through the relations which exist between a mother and her infant child.

"The mother must care for her child, feed it, protect it, amuse it. She cannot do otherwise; her strongest instincts impel her to this course. And so she provides for its needs, and in every possible way makes up for its powerlessness. Thus the child is cared for and made happy, and the first seed of love is sown within him.

"Presently the child's eyes fall on something he has never yet seen; seized with wonder and fear, he utters a cry; his mother presses him to her bosom, plays with him, diverts his attention, and his tears cease, though his eyes long remain wet. Should the unfamiliar object be seen again, the mother shelters the child in her arms, and smiles at him as before. This time, instead of crying, he answers his mother's smile by smiling himself, and the first seed of trust is sown.

"His mother runs to his cradle at his least sign; if he is hungry, she is there; if thirsty, she satisfies him; when he hears her step, he is content; when he sees her, he stretches out his hand and fastens his eyes upon her bosom; to him, his mother and the satisfaction of his hunger are one and the same thing; he is grateful.

"These germs of love, trust and gratitude soon develop. The child knows his mother's step; he smiles at her shadow; he loves whatever is like her; a creature of the same appearance as his mother is, in his eyes, a good creature. Those whom his mother loves, he loves; those whom she kisses, he kisses. This smile at the likeness of his mother is a smile at humanity, and the seed of brotherly love, the love of his fellow-men, is sown.

"Obedience, in its origin, is opposed to the child's first instincts, and would never result from them naturally; and yet it is upon these instincts that the educator must base his efforts to teach it. . . .

"The child cries before he has learnt patience; he is impatient before he has learnt to obey. Patience comes before obedience, and is necessary to the child before he can obey. The first manifestations of obedience are of a purely passive character, and result chiefly from the sense of necessity. But this sense may be developed by the mother's influence. The child must wait to be fed, to be taken to her arms. It is not till much later that he is capable of active obedience, and even then it is some time before he feels that it is good to obey his mother.

"Nature cares nothing for the child's anger; he may strike wood or stone as he pleases, but Nature will pay no heed, and he will soon cease to strike. Similarly, the mother must pay no heed to his unreasonable desires; though he may storm and cry, she must remain unmoved, and presently his crying will stop. He thus learns to subordinate his will to hers, and the first seeds of patience and obedience are sown.

"Obedience, gratitude, trust, and love combined, are the beginnings of conscience; that is, of a first vague feeling in the child's mind that it is not well for him to be angry with his mother, who loves him; that his mother is not in the world solely for him; that everything is not in the world for him; that even he is not in the world for himself alone. A first ray of duty and justice has reached his heart.

"Such are the first elements of moral development awakened by a mother's relations with her infant. They are also the elements of religious development, and it is by faith in its mother that the child rises to faith in God. . . .

"The moment will soon come when these first powerful springs of faith and action will disappear. The child's own strength already allows him to leave his mother's hand, a feeling of independence grows from day to day, and slowly the thought rises in his inmost heart, 'I no longer need my mother.' But she reads this thought in his eyes, presses her dear one still more closely to her breast, and says, in a tone which he has never heard before: 'My dear child, there is a God whom you need when you no longer need me, who will take you in His arms when I can no longer protect you, who will prepare joy and happiness for you when I can give you neither any more.' Then in the child's heart rises an inexpressible feeling of comfort, a readiness to believe which lifts him out of himself. He no sooner hears God's name from his mother's lips than he glows with gladness. The sentiments of love, gratitude and trust, first felt on his mother's bosom, are felt now still more deeply for God, whom he loves and trusts as a father or mother. His faculty of obeying grows too; the child now feels God's eye upon him as he formerly felt his mother's, and does good in God's sight as he used to do it in hers.

"This first attempt of a loving, simple-minded mother to subordinate the child's growing feeling of independence to faith in God, by connecting faith with certain moral tendencies that are already more or less developed, furnishes education with the fundamental principles from which it must start, if it is to succeed in ennobling men.

"The first germs, then, of love, gratitude, faith, and obedience grow out of certain instinctive relations between the mother and child, but the after-development of these germs requires most careful art. And even your most careful art, O educator, will remain barren if you lose sight for a moment of their starting-point, for you will then be breaking the thread which unites the growing sentiments to their first germs. This is a very great danger, and must be guarded against at the outset. The child called for his mother's help, loved her, thanked her, trusted her, obeyed her. He called for God's help, loved Him, thanked Him, trusted Him, and obeyed Him. But the first sources of these sentiments have now ceased to exist; he needs his mother no more, and the new world which surrounds him is crying with all its sensuous charm, 'Now, you are mine!'

"The child hears this voice. The instincts of his cradle have disappeared; those of his growing powers have replaced them. The moral sentiments which were the product of his first impressions will soon disappear too, if they are not now indissolubly bound up with the supreme aspirations of our nature, with the duties of life, and the will of the Creator. The world is now beginning to loosen the child from the mother's heart, and if at this time no one is found to reconcile the noblest sentiments of his nature with this new and seductive world, it is all over with him. The child, I say, is snatched from the loving heart; the world is now his mother, its sensual pleasures and proud spirit of dominion are now his god.

"Here, for the first time, you can no longer trust Nature; you must, on the other hand, do your utmost to preserve your child from his own blind strength, and give him such rules, principles and powers as the experience of centuries has shown us to be good. The world which is now before his eyes, is no longer as God first created it; not only have its pleasures lost their innocence, but human nature has lost its nobility, and everywhere is war, revolt, usurpation, violence, selfishness, lying and deceit." . . .

We have no space for further quotations from this important work. What we have already quoted furnishes a good example of Pestalozzi's tendency to digress. He took up his pen to set forth the views which the Burgdorf institute was intended to realize; but, as the work proceeded, fresh ideas crowded so thick and fast upon him, that at last, carried away by his feeling and imagination, he launched out into entirely new regions of thought. This explains how it is that the book contains so much more than its title seemed to promise. Morf, who has analyzed the work with much care and penetration, thus resumes its pedagogical principles:

1. "Sense-impression is the foundation of instruction.
2. "Language must be connected with sense-impression.
3. "The time for learning is not the time for judgment and criticism.
4. "In each branch, instruction must begin with the simplest elements, and proceed gradually by following the child's development; that is, by a series of steps which are pyschologically connected.
5. "A pause must be made at each stage of the instruction sufficiently long for the child to get the new matter thoroughly into his grasp and under his control.
6. "Teaching must follow the path of development, and not that of dogmatic exposition.
7. "The individuality of the pupil must be sacred for the teacher.
8. "The chief aim of elementary instruction is not to furnish the child with knowledge and talents, but to develop and increase the powers of his mind.
9. "To knowledge must be joined power; to what is known, the ability to turn it to account.
10. "The relations between master and pupil, especially so far as discipline is concerned, must be established and regulated by love.
11. "Instruction must be subordinated to the higher end of education."

We shall not here undertake an examination of the "method," as it is still in course of formation. Pestalozzi's own experiences at Burgdorf tended to modify it somewhat, and, later on, the labours of his assistants had a considerable effect in developing and extending it. Moreover, Pestalozzi worked at it with almost unimpaired intellectual vigour till quite the end of his life, as we see in the *Song of the Swan*, written when he was eighty years of age. Not till we have related his whole life, therefore, can we examine the educational method bequeathed to us by his genius and marvellous mental activity.

But what we are in a position to state at once is, that in this book, in which Pestalozzi endeavoured to set forth his educational doctrine at a time when it could not possibly have been affected by any foreign influence, he constantly returns to the idea, so often expressed already in his writings, that the intellectual and moral development of the child is governed by the same organic laws as his physical development or that of the plant or animal; in other words, that there is a human organism which comprises a material, an intellectual, and a moral organism. It is our belief that if Pestalozzi had investigated and formulated the laws of organism so as to be able to apply them to the object of his labours, he would have succeeded in giving his method more clearness and precision.[1]

We must now give some account of the elementary books to which we have referred in a previous chapter, and which were published during the existence of the Burgdorf institute.

The first, which appeared in 1801, and received some pecuniary support from the Helvetian Government, was the *Guide for Teaching Spelling and Reading*. It was originally supplemented by large letters, which were intended to be gummed on cardboard. The use of these movable letters seems to have constituted Pestalozzi's first real public success, so that it is to him we owe this practical method, still employed in so many families.

His *Book for Mothers* was printed in 1803; it came far short of what he had intended to make it, and not only failed to produce the good effect he had expected, but was ignored by the very people for whom it was written.

This failure seems to us to depend upon an error that had crept into Pestalozzi's thought, an error which we must now endeavour to explain, since its consequences were lasting and fatal. This error not only rendered many of the efforts of Pestalozzi and his helpers quite futile, but also served to spread a false idea of his method, and compromised the success and utility of the various elementary books which were afterwards published in his name.

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[1] We have given an account of the laws of organism and their application to physical, moral and intellectual education in our first work, *Philosophy and Practice of Education*. Paris, 1860.

We must say at once that it was not an error of doctrine, but simply a want of due appreciation of the difficulties which the mothers of his time were bound to meet with, in attempting to apply his method to the instruction of their children.

It was assuredly a beautiful and noble thought to ask mothers themselves to begin the reform of education by teaching their children by a method which was to be but a continuation of the natural method suggested to them by the first inspirations of the maternal instinct. But to succeed, it would have been necessary for them to forget the methods by which they had been taught themselves, to break away from those they saw in use around them, and to be as fervently devoted to the new method as they would have been if they had been brought up themselves by Pestalozzi, or even in the spirit of his teaching.

Pestalozzi thought he could avoid this difficulty by simplifying the elements of instruction and multiplying the successive steps, so as to form a series of minute gradations. His idea was to explain the course to be followed in all its details, and supply mothers word for word with all they would have to say to their children. But such a work was too long and monotonous for a mind like Pestalozzi's, so easily carried away by new ideas, and it was left, in a great measure, to his collaborators.

According to the original plan of its author, the *Book for Mothers* was to lead the child not only to a precise knowledge of the various objects of Nature or of art which were presented to him, but also to an understanding of the relations both of numbers and forms.

The study of that part of the sensible world which lay within the child's comprehension included an infinite variety of objects. Some order was necessary, and a starting-point which should be everywhere the same—a first object of observation, that is, which every mother who was anxious to use these exercises would invariably have before her eyes.

Pestalozzi chose the body of the child itself. He had indeed said elsewhere: "All I am, all I wish, and all I can do, comes from myself." After the child were to come animals, then plants, then the inorganic world, and then, after the works of God, the works of man.

It was Krusi who wrote the *Book for Mothers*, under Pestalozzi's directions; but the study of the external parts of the human body, their names, number, relative position, relations, functions, etc., filled a volume, and there the work stopped.

Pestalozzi had written the preface, in which he announced a series of ten exercises, seven only of which were eventually carried out. The seventh, which was drawn up by Pestalozzi himself, consists of a collection of instructive remarks on the functions of the child's various organs, and well repays perusal. The following quotation from an article entitled, *Seeing with the Eyes*, will give a sufficient idea of it:

"When the child is still but a babe, his mother takes him to the open window, and he sees the sky and earth, the garden before the house, trees, houses, men and animals; he sees things near and things in the distance, great things and small things, some standing alone, some in groups; he also sees white and blue and red and black. But he has no idea of nearness or distance; he knows nothing of size, number, and colour.

"Some weeks later his mother carries him in her arms into the garden, where he finds himself close to the same tree that he had seen from the window. Dogs, cats, cows and sheep pass near him; he sees the fowls peck the grains his mother scatters; he sees the water flowing from the fountain. His mother picks flowers of different colours for him, and putting them into his hand, teaches him to smell them.

"As the months go by, his mother takes him about with her still more; he at last comes quite near to the houses, trees, or steeples, that hitherto he has seen only from afar. Almost before he can walk he is prompted by the twofold desire for pleasure and knowledge to crawl over the paternal threshold, and go and breathe the fresh air and feel the pleasant warmth of the sun in some sheltered nook behind the house. He tries to take hold of everything he sees; he picks up stones, and breaks the bright, scented flowers from their stalks, putting both stones and flowers into his mouth. He would fain stop the worm on its way, the butterfly as it flies past him, the lambs in the meadows. Nature is unfolding before his eyes and he is eager to enjoy everything; each day he learns something new, each day gives him a clearer conception of size, distance, and number. . . .

"And now, mothers, what have you to do all this time? Nothing but follow the course that Nature and Providence are laying down for you. You see what objects God presents to your child as soon as he opens his eyes, you see the effect of his involuntary and, so to speak, inevitable perceptions, you see what pleases and amuses him. Let your whole conduct be regulated then by what you see; take your child near the object which strikes him and attracts him the most, show him his favourite objects again and again, search amongst everything within your reach—in the garden, the house, the meadows and fields—for those objects which, by their colour, shape, motion or brilliancy, have most in common with what he likes best. Surround his cradle with them and place them on the table where he takes his food. Give him full time to examine their properties at his ease, and let him observe that by putting new flowers into the vase where others have faded, by calling back the dog, or by picking up the fallen toy, you are often able to reproduce them when they disappear. This will be doing something for his heart and judgment; but you must never forget, O young mothers, that the one essential thing is that your child shall love you better than everything else, that his happiest smiles, his most eager attentions shall be for you alone, and that you, on your side, shall love nothing better than him."

Already, in the preface, Pestalozzi had appealed to the feelings of mothers. He there exhorts them and encourages them, and points out that they are not to follow these exercises from one end to the other without any variation, but that they must lose no opportunity of fixing the attention of their child on any object that may attract him—that, in short, the guide which he is giving them is but an example of how the child is to be taught to see properly and to express clearly what he has seen.

He then adds:

"I know too well how it will be; this poor husk, which is but the mere outward form of my method, will appear to be its real substance to a great number of men, who will endeavour to introduce this form into the narrow circle of their own ideas, and will judge of the value of the method according to the effects it produces in this strange association. I cannot prevent the forms of my method from having the same fate as all other forms, which inevitably perish in the hands of men who are neither desirous nor capable of grasping their spirit."

In spite of all these warnings, Pestalozzi's predictions were fulfilled. The *Book for Mothers* did not succeed; some of his critics even did not understand what his intention had been in publishing it, and looked on it merely as an absurd experiment. Dussault, a celebrated and witty French journalist, gave the following humorous account of it:

"Pestalozzi takes a world of trouble to teach a child that his nose is in the middle of his face."

These words are actually to be found in the book, in the chapter on the relative positions of the parts of the body, which was drawn up by Krusi. Those, however, who already knew something of Pestalozzi and his doctrine, took a considerable interest in the book in spite of its defects. A French translation of it was published at Geneva, in 1821, but the translator withheld his name.

After the *Book for Mothers* came the books intended for sense-impressing exercises on number and form, that is, for the first instruction in arithmetic and geometry. They were begun by Krusi and Buss, but were afterwards completed by Schmidt.

These books were just as overburdened with details, just as prolix and tedious as the *Book for Mothers*, nor were they any more successful or any more useful, although the path to be followed is minutely mapped out.

These elementary books, as we have said, gave a false impression of Pestalozzi's method. People did not sufficiently understand that these series of statements were to result from the child's own observation and experience; slaves to tradition, they only saw in them a lesson to be learned by heart and repeated mechanically. And thus, not without some show of reason, Pestalozzi's method has been blamed for a defect which is precisely the defect it was intended to cure.

Pestalozzi's method is spirit and life, and before we can apply it we must be inspired by this spirit and this life; his work cannot be carried on by a mere stereotyped imitation of his procedure. And yet, since Pestalozzi's time, some of his less important principles have spread and taken root, and already, in nearly every country, effected a certain improvement in educational methods. This progress is both slight and incomplete, and very far indeed from what we should have been justified in expecting. But Pestalozzi's method will not produce its full results until his philosophy has been still further popularized, and all educationalists are thoroughly imbued with its spirit.

We have still to speak of a work that Pestalozzi wrote at this time (that is, between 1802 and 1805), but which he never published. The manuscript, written throughout in Pestalozzi's hand, is in the possession of Mr. Morf, of Winterthur, so that its authenticity is incontestable. It is called *The Natural Schoolmaster*, and was printed for the first time in 1872, in Seyffarth's collection. Its history is as follows:

The *Book for Mothers*, as it was published in 1803, was but a first instalment, and that a very unsatisfactory one, of a much more important work projected by its author. Pestalozzi's view was that, after having accustomed the child to talk about his physical impressions, it would be well to go on and accustom him to talk about his moral impressions. With this object, he took as his text the language itself, or rather, those words in the language which express such moral sentiments as the child is capable of understanding and from the explanation of which he is likely to profit. It was to this new work, which seems to have been undertaken at the same time as the first, that Pestalozzi gave the title, *The Natural Schoolmaster*. The book, both in plan and form, was entirely different from the *Book for Mothers*.

Whether the author was dissatisfied with his work, or whether time failed him to correct and complete it, we do not know; but this, at least, is certain, that he abandoned his idea, and gave his manuscript to Krusi, with permission to make whatever use of it he thought best.

In putting this book on one side, Pestalozzi was far from giving up his intention of writing a work on the elementary teaching of language; a subject, indeed, at which he continued to work steadily till the end of his life, and on which he left a great quantity of manuscripts, which, however, with many others, were unfortunately lost some few years after his death. Schmidt, who was then in Paris, having asked to see them, Gottlieb sent them off to him. But they never reached their destination. Inquiries were made, and they were traced to Mulhouse, but, in spite of every effort, it was impossible to discover what became of them afterwards.

In 1829, Krusi, at that time the director of the Cantonal School at Trogen, decided to utilize for the public benefit the documents that had been entrusted to him. After studying the manuscript, therefore, and reducing it to order, he published a selection of passages in a pamphlet of some hundred and twenty pages, entitled: *Paternal Instructions on the Moral Signification of Words; a Legacy from Father Pestalozzi to his Pupils.*

In the preface, Krusi gives the history of the manuscript, and quotes the following passage from Pestalozzi's letters to Gessner:

> "I hope to complete my reading-lessons by a legacy to my pupils, in which, after my death, they will find, connected with the principal verbs in the language, and stated in such a way as to strike them as they struck me, a certain number of moral instructions, all drawn from my own experience."

The paternal instructions are indeed based on the meanings of a series of words, nearly all of which are verbs.

The body of the work is preceded by a number of detached thoughts and notes, jotted down without any attempt at order, like so much material for a building that has never been completed. It is amongst these notes that we come across the title of the work: *The Natural Schoolmaster; or, Practical Instructions based on the Simplest Principles of Education for Teaching Children all they* *need know up to the age of six years.* Then follows the dedication:

"To the People of Helvetia!

"I have seen thy degradation, thy terrible degradation, and I have had pity on thee, and long to help thee. I have neither talent nor knowledge, and I am of no account in the world, but I know thy needs. I give thee, then, myself and all that I have been able to accomplish for thee by the painful labours of my life.

"Read what I say without prejudice, and if any one should offer anything better, throw me aside, and let me sink back into the obscurity in which I have passed my life. But if no one can tell thee what I tell thee, if no one can help thee as I can, then give a tear to my memory and to the life I have lost for thy sake."

Amongst the preliminary notes we find some striking ideas as to the moral importance of good language-teaching which put us in mind of the work of Father Girard twenty years later; there are also plans for the study of language, and criticisms of the methods then in use. After speaking of the mischief done by the bad methods of so many schoolmasters, the author exclaims, "Jesus Christ, the only Master!" That, then, is where Pestalozzi looked for his model.

As we have said, the body of the work is a collection of instructions founded on the meanings of words. The words are arranged alphabetically, each word being accompanied by its derivatives, and each being taken successively in its different acceptations. To be thoroughly understood, the book must, of course, be read in German, but we will endeavour to give our readers some idea of it by translating the first paragraph:

"I. Achten, achtend, geachtet, erachten, beobachten, hochachten, verachten, sich selbstachten; die Achtung, die Selbstachtung.

"Children, the first word I am going to explain to you is Selbstachtung (attention to self, respect for self).

"It is this that makes you blush when you have done wrong; that makes you love virtue. pray to God, believe in eternal life, and overcome sin. It is this that makes you honour age and wisdom, and prevents your turning aside from poverty and distress; it is this that enables you to repel error and falsehood, and teaches you to love truth. Children, it is this that makes the coward a hero, the idler a man of action; that makes us honour the stranger, and come to the rescue of the outcast and the fallen."

The manuscript in the hands of Mr. Morf is not all that Pestalozzi entrusted to Krusi; there were also a number of separate sheets, made use of by Krusi for his publication, which have since been lost. But everything contained in *The Natural Schoolmaster* and the *Paternal Instructions* has been published by Seyffarth in the sixteenth volume of his collection of Pestalozzi's works, a volume which any one who was thinking of preparing a manual of language-exercises for young children would do well to read.

CHAPTER XIII.

FIRST YEARS AT YVERDUN.

Helpers. Vulliemin's reminiscences. Prussia adopts the Pestalozzian Method. Great reputation of the Institute. Testimony of Ritter, Raumer, etc. School for girls. School for deaf-mutes. Life in the institute. A printing-press in the Castle. "Weekly Journal of Education." Other publications. Games, manual labour, festivities.

ONCE installed in the old Castle of Yverdun,[1] the institute grew rapidly; the pupils were soon much more numerous than they had been at Burgdorf, and the number of masters was considerably increased. Many of the latter had been pupils at Burgdorf, and now, as under-masters entrusted with the teaching of the most elementary subjects, they faithfully applied the method by which they had themselves been formed. The others were men of various attainments and capacity, who had eagerly accepted work under Pestalozzi.

Amongst the new helpers we must mention:

John Niederer, of Outer Appenzell, Doctor of Philosophy, who when the Burgdorf institute was opened was the pastor of Sennwald, in the Rheinthal. In the letters which he wrote at the time to his intimate friend Tobler, and which have since been published by his widow, he expresses sincere admiration for Pestalozzi, and a great desire to join him. This desire, however, was not satisfied till some years later, for he would not leave his parish till he was satisfied that it would not suffer from his absence. Niederer has been called the philosopher of the "method," because he put Pestalozzi's ideas into a more philosophical form. At Yverdun he revised everything that the master wrote for publication, correcting the chief defects, and, it must be added, somewhat spoiling the originality of both matter and form. Indeed, if Pestalozzi's thought is to be thoroughly understood, it must be examined in those of his writings which were not touched by anybody but himself.

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[1] Once the residence of the Bailiffs of Canton Berne, it had become the property of the Vaudese Government, and had been sold in 1804 to the town of Yverdun, on condition that Pestalozzi, during his life, should have the gratuitous use of it for his educational institution.

De Murault,[1] of Zurich, a well-informed man, of large views and good administrative ability; simple and kindly with children. He had lived in Paris, and spoke French fairly well; and as all the singing in the institute was in German, he won the hearts of all the French-speaking boys by taking us for walks, and teaching us songs in our mother-tongue.[2] He afterwards became the head of an important educational establishment in St. Petersburg.

Mieg, a capable man; kind, but very firm. After Murault's departure, Pestalozzi entrusted him for some time with the general management of the discipline of the institute.

Von Türck, of a noble family in the north of Germany. He gave up a good position in the Oldenburg magistracy to come and study Pestalozzi's work, of which he afterwards published an account, with the title: *Letters from Munchenbuchsee on Pestalozzi and his Elementary Method of Education.* This man, distinguished alike for his talents, his high aims, and his extraordinary strength of will, after having conducted a school in Yverdun in connection with Pestalozzi's institute, was appointed a Councillor of State in Potsdam, where he zealously worked for thirty years at the application and propagation of the master's doctrine.

Barraud, soon called away by Maine de Biran to Bergerac, in Dordogne, where he founded an educational institute based on Pestalozzi's principles.

Amongst the poor children who had been received at Burgdorf, and who afterwards became masters at Yverdun, the three most distinguished were:

Ramsauer, of whom mention has already been made, and whom we shall have occasion to quote again.

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[1] He had been teaching in a family in Paris at the time of the Consulta, and having become acquainted with Pestalozzi, had expressed a desire to work with him.

[2] The author was an old Yverdun pupil. [Tr.]

Joseph Schmidt, a shepherd-boy from the Tyrol, who had had no early education whatever. Burgdorf had a greater influence on his intellect than on his heart. He soon showed a remarkable talent for mathematics, which he taught at Yverdun with great skill and astonishing success. With a glance like an eagle and a will of iron, he was crafty, domineering, and utterly devoid of sensibility. He gradually obtained complete ascendancy over Pestalozzi's mind, and was finally the cause of the departure of the other masters, and of the ruin of the institute. It was he who drew up the *Elementary Lessons in Number and Form*, which are printed in volumes xiv. and xv. of the very incomplete edition of Pestalozzi's works published by Cotta from 1820 to 1826.

Steiner, a neglected child, who received all his education from Pestalozzi at Burgdorf. He was an under-master at Yverdun, and was one of the pupils who did the greatest credit to the "method." Much later he became a professor of mathematics in Berlin, and published works which have had a very considerable effect in popularizing and improving the study of that science.

Such were now Pestalozzi's chief helpers. There were many others afterwards, but it must be remembered that we are speaking of a time when the Yverdun institute was still in its infancy.

To give our readers a clear idea of the life of the institute in these early days, we cannot do better than quote the interesting writer who has lately published, for his family and friends, as he says, the memories of his childhood. We refer to Professor Vulliemin, the eminent historian and continuator of Jean de Muller. He entered Pestalozzi's institute in 1805, at the age of eight, and remained there two years. His account of the place is as follows:

"Imagine, my children, a very ugly man, with rough, bristling hair, his face scarred with small-pox and covered with freckles, a pointed, untidy beard, no neck-tie, ill-fitting trousers, stockings down, and enormous shoes; add to this a breathless, shuffling gait, eyes either large and flashing, or half-closed as though turned within, features expressing either a profound sadness or the most peaceful happiness, speech now slow and musical, now thundering and hurried, and you will have some idea of the man we called 'Father Pestalozzi.'

"Such as I have described him to you, we loved him; yes, we all loved him, for he loved us all; we loved him so much that when we lost sight of him for a time we felt sad and lonely, and when he came back to us again we could not turn our eyes away from him.

"We knew that at the time when the wars of the Swiss Revolution had so largely increased the number of poor and orphan children, he had taken a great number of them into his house and cared for them as a father, and we felt that he was the true friend of children, and of all who were in trouble or misfortune.

"My fellow-citizens of Yverdun, my native town, had generously placed at his disposal the old Castle. It was built in the shape of a huge square, and its great rooms and courts were admirably adapted for the games as well as the studies of a large school. Within its walls were assembled from a hundred and fifty to two hundred children of all nations, who divided their time between lessons and happy play. It often happened that a game of prisoner's base, begun in the Castle court, would be finished on the grass near the lake. In winter we used to make a mighty snow-fortress, which was attacked and defended with equal heroism. Sickness was hardly known among us.

"Early every morning we went in turns and had a shower of cold water thrown over us. We were generally bareheaded, but once, when a bitterly cold wind was blowing, my father took pity upon me, and gave me a hat. My companions had no sooner perceived it than a hue and cry was raised: 'A hat, a hat!' It was soon knocked off my head and a hundred hands sent it flying about the playground and corridors, till at last it went spinning through a window, and fell into the river that flows under the walls of the Castle. It was carried away to the lake and I never saw it again.

"Our masters were for the most part young men, and nearly all children of the revolutionary period, who had grown up round Pestalozzi, their father and ours. There were, indeed, a few educated men and scholars who had come to share his task; but, taken altogether, there was not much learning I myself have heard Pestalozzi boast, when an old man, of not having read anything for forty years. Nor did our masters, his first pupils, read much more than Pestalozzi himself. Their teaching was addressed to the understanding rather than the memory, and had for its aim the harmonious cultivation of the germs implanted in us by Providence. 'Make it your aim to develop the child,' Pestalozzi was never tired of repeating, 'and do not merely train him as you would train a dog, and as so many children in our schools often are trained.'

"Our studies were almost entirely based on number, form, and language. Language was taught us by the help of sense-impression; we were taught to see correctly, and in that way to form for ourselves a just idea of the relations of things. What we had thoroughly understood we had no trouble to express clearly.

"The first elements of geography were taught us from the land itself. We were first taken to a narrow valley not far from Yverdun, where the river Buron runs. After taking a general view of the valley, we were made to examine the details, until we had obtained an exact and complete idea of it. We were then told to take some of the clay which lay in beds on one side of the valley, and fill the baskets which we had brought for the purpose. On our return to the Castle, we took our places at the long tables, and reproduced in relief the valley we had just studied, each one doing the part which had been allotted to him. In the course of the next few days more walks and more explorations, each day on higher ground and each time with a further extension of our work. Only when our relief was finished were we shown the map, which by this means we did not see till we were in a position to understand it.

"We had to discover the truths of geometry for ourselves. After being once put in the way of it, the end to be reached was pointed out to us, and we were left to work alone. It was the same with arithmetic, which we did aloud, without paper. Some of us became wonderfully quick at this, and as charlatanism penetrates everywhere, these only were brought before the numerous strangers that the name of Pestalozzi daily attracted to Yverdun. We were told over and over again that a great work was going on in our midst, that the eyes of the world were upon us, and we readily believed it.

"The Pestalozzian Method, as it was somewhat ostentatiously called, was, it is true, an enigma, not only to us but to our teachers, who, like the disciples of Socrates, each interpreted the master's doctrine in his own way. But we were still far from the time when these divergencies resulted in discord, and when the chief masters, after each claiming to be the only one who had understood Pestalozzi, ended by declaring that Pestalozzi had not understood himself.

"At the time of my first appearance among the healthy, happy children gathered within these walls, scenes like those in Molière's *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, which were destined ultimately to result in the ruin of the institute, had not yet taken place. At this time, indeed, belief in Pestalozzi still united the members of his large family. Not that he had not already given signs of that lack of administrative ability which afterwards became so evident. He had no sense of order, no gift for managing. In his childish simplicity he could not be suspicious. Having no belief in evil, he was easily deceived, and bound, sooner or later, to have serious disappointments; but at the time of which I speak, he commanded devotion and obedience from all.

"One instance will show you the kind of spirit that prevailed in the early days of the institute.

"These educators, who afterwards filled the world with their quarrels, received no payment in money. Their daily wants were provided for, and they asked nothing more. The money received from the pupils was kept in Pestalozzi's room, and all the masters had access to it, so that if one of them wanted a coat, or a pair of boots, he just took what he needed. This state of things lasted nearly a year without any serious inconvenience. It was almost a return to the communism of the early Christians."

Soon after Vulliemin left the institute, its outward splendour and reputation were still further increased, the propagation of its method received a new and powerful impetus, and some of its principles began to take definite root in the educational system of a whole nation. This was a consequence of the battle of Jena, after which, Prussia, smarting under her defeat and humiliation, resolved to adopt the remedial measures that Pestalozzi had so long been preaching.

When Frederick William the Third saw his monarchy crushed by the loss of a single battle, he boldly made up his mind for the slow and laborious, but only sure method of restoring it, exclaiming:

> "We have lost in territory, in power, and in splendour; but what we have lost abroad we must endeavour to make up for at home, and hence my chief desire is that the very greatest attention be paid to the instruction of the people."

The king was not alone in Prussia in desiring a reform of public education. Many of the best minds had been considering the question and making plans and suggestions for a long time, but nothing had as yet been done.

Queen Louisa also used her influence in the matter. An entry in her private diary runs thus: "I am reading *Leonard and Gertrude*, and enjoy transporting myself to this Swiss village. If I were my own mistress, I should at once go to Switzerland and see Pestalozzi. Would that I could take his hand, and that he might read my gratitude in my eyes! . . . With what kindness and ardour he works for the good of his fellow-men! Yes, in the name of humanity, I thank him with my whole heart." Later on, when Zeller was sent to Koenigsberg to teach according to Pestalozzi's method, the queen took a keen interest in the experiment, and often visited the new school.

During the winter of 1807-8, Fichte delivered in Berlin his *Discourses to the German Nation*. It will be remembered that he had visited Pestalozzi in 1793, and that, struck by the truth of his views, he had promised to make them known in Germany. In these discourses he kept his word, and without any hesitancy, for he was fully convinced of the truth of what he urged, and knew that by speaking thus he was doing a philanthropic and patriotic act. After showing that education is the only means of raising a nation, he gave an account of Pestalozzi and his work, and declared that no reform of public instruction could be efficacious and salutary unless based on Pestalozzi's teaching.[1]

On the 11th of September, 1808, Altenstein, of Koenigsberg, one of the king's ministers, wrote to Pestalozzi:

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[1] Discourses IX. and X.

"His Majesty the King, being anxious that some active efforts should be made to improve the state of popular education, which I am aware is the object of your constant solicitude, has entrusted me, as minister, with the management of educational matters in the Prussian provinces of his states. Being fully convinced of the great value of the method you have invented and so successfully practised, I hope that, by introducing it into our elementary schools, I may be enabled to bring about a complete reform of public instruction in our royal provinces, a reform from which I shall look for the most valuable results on the development of the people.

"Amongst the various steps towards this end that I am thinking of taking, one of the most important will certainly be the sending of two young men to you to study your system of education and methods of teaching at the very fountain-head. They will not confine themselves merely to the consideration of a few particular points, but they will endeavour to understand your system as a whole and in all its different bearings. Under the direction of its venerable inventor and his worthy colleagues, they will be prepared, not only in mind and judgment, but also in heart, for the noble vocation which they are to follow, and they will be filled with a sense of the holiness of their task, and with new zeal for the work to which you have devoted your life. To ensure the success of the step we are taking, I am anxious to know from you yourself under what conditions these young men will be best able to absorb your method; of what age and character they should be, for instance, and how much instruction they should already possess. This information will enable us to send you only such persons as you would desire to receive."

This letter shows us with what serious decision and with what scrupulous care Prussia now set out on the path which was, in time, to restore it to its former position. And it was not merely two pupils that were sent to Pestalozzi, but seventeen, all of whom spent three years at Yverdun, at the expense of their government. Most of them afterwards became distinguished men; amongst others, we may mention the well-known names of Henning, Dreist and Kaverau.[1] Prussia was not the only country that sent student-teachers to Pestalozzi; the kings of Denmark and Holland also sent two each, and many came from other parts of Germany. Sometimes Pestalozzi had as many as forty about him at a time.

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[1] An idea of the results of the experiment may be gathered from V. Cousin's report on public instruction in Prussia.

But, in our opinion, it was Saxony that most successfully carried out its educational reforms. For a long time the man in whom the control of the Saxon schools was vested was Justus Blochmann, a former pupil and distinguished collaborator of Pestalozzi, and it was probably owing to his influence that the tone of popular instruction in Saxony became more distinctly moral and religious and more thoroughly Christian than it did in Prussia. In the great international competition of a few years ago, it was the primary schools of Saxony that took the first place.

The ardour with which Germany, and especially Prussia, adopted Pestalozzi's method, attracted the attention of many other countries to the institute of Yverdun; pupils poured in from all parts of the globe, visitors became more numerous than ever, and included not only those who took a serious interest in education, but mere sight-seers, princes, generals, bankers, and a host of others, who made a point of seeing Pestalozzi, as they made a point of seeing a lake or a glacier. Such people as these generally went away disappointed.

This great and unintelligent popularity, unparalleled in the history of any educational establishment before that time, had the most unfortunate consequences. Not only were the lessons daily troubled by the numerous visitors, but parents came from different countries and begged for an instruction for their children adapted to the customs and circumstances of their homes, a demand which Pestalozzi, anxious to lose no opportunity of spreading his doctrine, was often unwise enough to attempt to satisfy. This was undoubtedly one of the causes of the confusion which afterwards invaded the system of studies at Yverdun.

But the reputation of the institute also brought visitors of another sort to Pestalozzi—men of ability, that is, who were capable of turning what they learnt from him to good advantage. Amongst these we must mention Charles Ritter, who exercised so great an influence on the development of geographical science. The account given by this eminent man of the state of the institute of Yverdun in 1807 and 1809 is particularly valuable. It has lately been made public by Professor Vulliemin in an article in the *Evangelical Christian*,[1] from which we borrow the following passages:

"In September, 1807, a German tutor arrived at Yverdun with two pupils and their mother. The tutor was Charles Ritter, his pupils the young Hollwegs, of Frankfort, members of a great banking family, whose subsequent fame has been due in no small measure to these very boys. Ritter was not an ordinary tourist. As it was known that he was very eager to become acquainted with Pestalozzi and his method, he was warmly welcomed at the institute, and spent a busy week of educational investigation in the society of the head of this large family and his chief colleagues, Niederer, Tobler, Muralt and Krusi. Not a day passed without lectures and discussions, in the course of which education was looked at from very many different sides. It was at the time of Pestalozzi's greatest prosperity; and although his sensitive heart had already detected the germs of those dissensions which were afterwards to destroy his work at Yverdun, he still retained many of his earlier illusions, and it was with the most complete faith in the power of his method that, with Niederer's help, he had just made a public report on the state of his institution. What Ritter saw at Yverdun filled him with admiration and respect. He felt that he was in the presence of an exceptional nature, of a great-souled, self-sacrificing man, who was entirely possessed by a stimulating and original idea, and in whom child-like simpleness and humility mingled with unbounded confidence in the greatness of the task he had set himself to do. Transported thus into a world that was new to him, Ritter could not but feel its elevating and ennobling influence.

"Two years later (the 1st of October, 1809) he repeated his visit to Yverdun. 'After journeying in rain and sun,' he writes to a friend, 'I once more came to my dear Yverdun, where I was received like an old friend of the family. Amongst the many joys that Providence has bestowed upon me, and for which, on account of their great influence on my development, I shall never cease to be thankful, I set the highest store by those that I have tasted in the society of my good friends Pestalozzi, Niederer, Mieg, von Türck, Schmidt, and others, men who, in different degrees, are very dear to me, since we are all striving for the same great end, the raising of humanity by education.'

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[1] Charles Ritter, the Geographer; biographical fragments (*Evangelical Christian*, 1869, p. 21).

"Great changes had taken place in the institution; but though their sphere of action had considerably increased, these energetic men still remained the same. The noble old man, always a child in heart, was kept by his eager enthusiasm in an almost constant state of feverish activity; his wife was a model of unassuming virtue, delicacy and kind-heartedness. 'In their company,' says Ritter, 'my hours pass like minutes. When evening comes, seated between the father and mother of this great family, I share with my friends a simple repast, at which dishes are passed and glasses filled amid many a pleasant jest.

"'The work has grown to such proportions that its founder can no longer attend to the whole of it. There are more than a hundred and fifty pupils, and as many as forty student-teachers of various ages, some of whom are already engaged in active work outside the institute, and all of whom apply themselves diligently to the study of the 'method.' I have not been able to ascertain the number of masters. Add to all this a school for girls, two private establishments, and a number of teachers who live with their pupils in the town, but give and receive lessons in the institute, and you will have some idea of what is going on here.

"'Pestalozzi himself is unable to apply his own method in any of the simplest subjects of instruction. He is quick in grasping principles, but is helpless in matters of detail; he possesses the faculty, however, of putting his views with such force and clearness that he has no difficulty in getting them carried out. He was right, indeed, when he said to me, speaking of himself: 'I cannot say that it is I who have created what you see before you. Niederer, Krusi and Schmidt would laugh at me if I called myself their master; I am good neither at figures nor writing; I know nothing about grammar, mathematics, or any other science; the most ignorant of our pupils knows more of these things than I do; I am but the *initiator* of the institute, and depend on others to carry out my views.'

"'He spoke the truth, and yet without him nothing that is here would exist. He has no gift for guiding or governing this great undertaking, and yet it continues. He has sacrificed everything he possessed to this end; even now he knows nothing of the value of money, and is as ignorant of accounts as a child. Even his speech, which is neither German nor French, is scarcely intelligible, and yet in everything he is the soul of this vast establishment. All his words, and more especially his religious utterances, sink deep into the hearts of his pupils, who love and venerate him as a father.'

"Ritter continues: 'If Pestalozzi is the inspirer, Niederer is the philosopher of the enterprise, for it is he that develops all Pestalozzi's ideas, and he does so in a way which would do honour to the very greatest teachers of philosophy. To him, however, philosophy is inseparable from religion, and the only wisdom is in Jesus Christ. His conversation is elevating, inspiring and comforting. Inferior as I am to him in depth and power, he is attracted by me, because, in spite of all I can say to the contrary, he finds in me a certain harmony which he is conscious of lacking. His thoughts give him no repose, and he frequently suffers from the effects of overwork. He is, indeed, always in a state either of intense mental activity or of complete mental exhaustion. His wealth of ideas is most striking when he is talking of the history of religion, of the life and teaching of Christ, of the Gospel of St. John, or, in another connection, of the open nature of the child, and of the intimate connection between psychology and the study of languages. Were he inclined to give the results of his studies to the world, he would have much to say on these subjects that would be very valuable; but always dissatisfied with what he does, he will not consent to publish what he feels to be imperfect.

"'Pestalozzi's most energetic helper in the development of his system is Schmidt, a Tyrolese, whose method of teaching drawing and geometry has been published, and is to be followed by that for arithmetic and algebra. The 'method' has been more fully applied to these branches than to any other. Problems in geometry, trigonometry and measurement of solids are nothing to Schmidt's pupils. In a large class, containing from fifteen to twenty groups of boys, all at different stages of progress, I have seen Schmidt teaching alone, encouraging and helping everybody, and keeping everybody occupied, without a single false step. This man, the son of a peasant, is but twenty-three years of age; he is religious and simple-hearted, but with a will of iron.'

"Such was Ritter's opinion of the Yverdun institute in 1809. But his enthusiasm, as is evident, got the better of his judgment. Niederer's characteristic cordiality had kept him blind to his rationalizing tendency, nor had he discovered behind Schmidt's rough energy the preoccupations of a mind determined to command. His stay at Yverdun had been too short to allow him to discover the weak spots in the men and their work, and the strongly favourable impressions produced upon him by the good side of all he saw rendered him incapable of calm criticism. Nor was he at that time, though sincerely religious, sufficiently acquainted with the spirit of the Gospel to make it a test of Pestalozzi's work. Perhaps it was as well for him that he did not discover the real secret of its weakness at first. The impulsion he received was all the stronger, all the more salutary; for there can be no doubt that, independently of what he learned in other respects, it was his relations with Pestalozzi which awoke in him the ideas which he was so soon afterwards to apply in his geographical studies. To quote his own words on this subject:

"'I have seen more than the paradise of Switzerland, for I have seen Pestalozzi, and recognized how great his heart is, and how great his genius; never have I been so filled with a sense of the sacredness of my vocation, and the dignity of human nature, as in the days that I spent with this noble man. I cannot think without emotion of this little company of brave men, struggling with the present that the future may be the better, and finding alike their joy and their reward in the hope they have of raising children to the true dignity of humanity. I have watched the growth of this precious plant, I have even drunk of the waters and breathed the air that give it life. I have learned to understand this 'method,' which, based upon the nature of the child, develops so naturally and so freely. It is for me now to apply it in the domain of geography, where Nature has been too long neglected.'

"'. . . I left Yverdun fully determined to keep the promise I made to Pestalozzi of introducing his method into the study of geography,' he writes later, 'and already I am reducing the chaos to order; I hold in my hand, as it were, the clue to such a knowledge of the globe as will satisfy both the mind and heart, reveal the laws of a higher wisdom, and contribute not a little to the science of physico-theology.'

"He certainly kept his promise, for his great work on comparative geography may be said to have founded a new science. He changed geography, which till then had been a mere collection of facts, into an organic science, thus throwing light on the relations between the physical and intellectual diversities of race. No doubt he owed much to many other men, and particularly to William Humboldt whose labours gave a new direction to the study of languages, but it is to Pestalozzi that he traces the first impulsion given to his mind, and the chief part of what was valuable in his work. Forty years after his visit to Yverdun, we heard him admit this himself:

"'Pestalozzi,' he said, 'knew less geography than a child in one of our primary schools; yet it was from him that I gained my chief knowledge of this science, for it was in listening to him that I first conceived the idea of the natural method. It was he who opened the way to me, and I take pleasure in attributing whatever value my work may possess entirely to him.'"[1]

We have not hesitated to quote at this length, because any who are anxious to thoroughly understand Pestalozzi's work will be glad to have the opinions of two such men as Ritter and Vulliemin. As the article from which we have been quoting, however, anticipates a little, we shall have to return to certain points later on.

Amongst the other notable men who visited the Yverdun institute during this first period of its existence, we must mention von Raumer, who, at Fichte's suggestion, left Paris, where he was studying theology, to come to Pestalozzi. He stayed long enough to get a thorough understanding of the work of the establishment in all its details; but though he had a great admiration for its venerable founder, he was not blind to its defects, and even proposed certain alterations, which, however, were not carried out. He afterwards went back to Germany, his native country, and wrote a *History of Pedagogy*, in which the praise he bestows on the institute is not altogether unmixed.

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[1] It was to Pestalozzi that Ritter dedicated the first volume of his *Geography*.

Chavannes' *Life of Pestalozzi* (Lausanne, 1853), contains the testimony of a pupil from Vevey, afterwards a minister of the Gospel, as to the state of the establishment at this time. We quote the following extracts:

"I entered in June, 1808, when I was about seven and a half years old, but I only stayed nine months. It was the most brilliant period of the institute. There were as many as a hundred and thirty-seven pupils there, including not only Swiss, Germans, and Frenchmen, but Italians, Spaniards, Russians, and even Americans.

"In the matter of food and cleanliness we were not very well looked after; but though at first I suffered very much, being so far from Vevey and my parents, I gradually became accustomed to the new state of things, and grew very fond of my kind masters, who not only took part in all our amusements, but even, by an excess of liberty, allowed us to 'thou' them. I was especially attached to their excellent chief, Pestalozzi. I seem still to see this kind old man, with his knee-breeches half-buttoned, his stockings down, his collar, hair and beard in disorder, and yet with such a quick, tender glance in his eyes, and such a kind smile upon his lips, that everybody felt attracted to him, men, women and children gladly accepting his affectionate embraces.

"I should add, further, in praise of this excellent man, that if he did not develop in me the fear of God or faith in the Saviour, he at least taught me to do my work from a sense of duty, avoiding as far as possible the dangerous stimulus of praise and reward. Having been called to his room one day with a young Italian who had given some cause of complaint, and whom he gently reproved, I thought for a moment that the same thing was going to happen to me; but the good old man, turning to me, said that my masters were quite satisfied with me, and that he would send word of this to my parents, who would doubtless be very glad to hear it. I thus found that I had done my duty without being praised before my companions, and almost without knowing it.

"Upon the whole I may say that, although I was very young, and spent but a very short time with this extraordinary man, he has left an ineffaceable impression upon me, and that I look upon him as one of the benefactors of my youth.

"It often happened, I remember, that one of the masters, seated near the fireplace while Pestalozzi pronounced his morning meditation, would eagerly write it down. One of these improvised discourses, delivered by Pestalozzi on a Friday morning in winter, has been preserved. As it gives a fairly good idea of what Pestalozzi's Christianity was at that time, I do not hesitate to give it in full:

"'No day in the week is so important as this day on which Jesus Christ suffered and died. We were talking yesterday of the repose of winter. I tried to make you understand that no seed thrives unless the ground has been well prepared; when it has been badly prepared, neither the winter nor its snows can help forward the work of the sun, and in spite of the repose of winter, the seed perishes.

"'Similarly a man cannot hope for a peaceful death and a happy resurrection unless the seeds of his life are likely to yield a good harvest. He cannot lie down to sleep in peace unless his day's work is done.

"'When we once realize that this is true, we see that Christ's sacrifice and death were but the accomplishment of His work on earth. His last words were: "It is finished," and as He was satisfied that His work was well finished, He died in peace. Had his work not been finished, He would not have died.

"'By living for His heavenly Father and for humanity, He earned, as it were, His repose.

"'Would that we might follow His example, and recognize that it is the only way to eternal repose. The man who does not attempt to fulfil his duties, and who consequently does not tend towards perfection, will never obtain this rest.

"'How difficult it is for us teachers to strive towards this end throughout our lives, nay, even for a single hour! Jesus alone could say: "All is finished"; everything that man undertakes is paltry and incomplete. . . .

"'We must be always asking ourselves: Have I tried to work at my own improvement? Does my conduct show that I have advanced somewhat in the way of sanctification?

. . . No man can meet death with tranquillity but he who has fully accomplished his task. . . .

"'We accomplish nothing; on all sides we are powerless; our action is broken and fragmentary; and yet we shall only find rest in so far as we strive after perfection.

"'Try to love God, your parents, and each other more and more.

"'He who develops and perfects his inner nature will gradually find the strength and means to accomplish his task with regard to outer things.'"

We may add that Pestalozzi pronounced these meditations at morning and evening worship, walking up and down before the assembled school in the large hall which served for a chapel. The service closed with singing and prayer, the prayer being sometimes silent.

Pestalozzi had founded at Yverdun, not far from the Castle, a girls' school, the pupils of which received lessons from some of the masters in the institute, and were always present at evening worship. Pestalozzi had entrusted the direction of this establishment to his daughter-in-law, who, it will be remembered, had been the good angel of the Burgdorf institute, and who had now married a second husband, Mr. Kuster.

Mrs. Kuster's chief assistant was Miss Rosette Kasthoffer, of Berne, an intelligent person, who afterwards married Niederer, and became the directress of the school, which finally became independent of Pestalozzi. Under Mr. and Mrs. Niederer it acquired much celebrity. They carried it on in Yverdun till 1838, and then in Geneva till Niederer's death.

It was also Pestalozzi who attracted to Yverdun Mr. Conrad Naef, of Zurich, who in 1811 founded an institute for the deaf and dumb, an establishment which always enjoyed a thoroughly deserved reputation, first under the management of the founder, and, after his death, under that of his son.

The various testimony quoted above has already given our readers some idea of what the institute of Yverdun was like during the years of its prosperity; we must now add a few touches to complete the picture.

The pupils enjoyed a great deal of liberty. As the two doors of the Castle were open all day, and there was no porter, they could go in and out at all hours as if they were at home, and they never abused this freedom. Their lessons lasted generally ten hours a day—the first beginning at six, the last ending at eight. But none of these lessons lasted more than an hour, and they were all followed by a short interval, during which the children generally changed rooms. Besides, some of these lessons consisted of gymnastics, or some sort of manual labour, such as working in cardboard or gardening. The last hour of the day was a free hour, devoted to what the children called their own work. They could do anything they liked—draw, or read geography, or write home, or put their note-books in order.

The youngest masters, who were generally Burgdorf pupils, were in charge out of school. They slept in the dormitories, and, in recreation time, played with the pupils with as much enjoyment as the children themselves. They worked in the garden with them, bathed with them, walked with them, and were in every respect on the friendliest terms with them. They were divided into sets, each set taking its turn every third day, for this superintendence kept them busy from morning till night.

Three times a week the masters rendered an account to Pestalozzi of the pupils' work and behaviour. The latter were summoned by the old man, five or six at a time, to receive his exhortations or remonstrances. He would take them one by one into a corner of his room, and ask them in a low voice if they had not something to tell him, to ask him. He tried in this way to gain their confidence, to find out if they were happy, what pleased them, or what troubled them. The work of the week was reviewed at a general meeting every Saturday.

The faithful Lisbeth, the brave woman who had brought Pestalozzi such timely succour in his distress at Neuhof, had followed her master to Yverdun as housekeeper. She had married Krusi's brother, who filled the post of confidential servant at the institute.

She had brought with her to Yverdun the economical and culinary habits of German-Switzerland, which were somewhat too simple and primitive to suit the tastes of the people she had come amongst. The food, however, though not very delicately prepared, was plain, wholesome, and abundant, and the meals, as is customary in Germany, numerous.

At seven o'clock, after the first lesson, the pupils washed in the courtyard. The water, pumped from the well, ran through a long pipe with holes on both sides, from which each child received a pure, fresh stream, jugs and basins being unknown. After this came breakfast, consisting of soup. Lessons began again at eight. At ten came an interval, when any one who was hungry could get dried fruit and bread from the housekeeper. At mid-day there was an hour's recreation for bathing or prisoner's-base on the grass behind the lake. At one o'clock dinner of soup, meat, and vegetables. Lessons again from half-past one till half-past four. Then the afternoon meal, either of cheese, fruit, or bread and butter. Each could take his share away with him, and eat it where he liked during the play-hour, which lasted till six o'clock, and which was passed, when the weather was fine, either behind the lake or in the large garden adjoining the Castle, where every child had his own little plot. From six to eight more lessons, and then supper, which was much the same as dinner.

When we consider the material conditions of the life of the masters in the Yverdun institute, we can have no doubt either of their devotion to Pestalozzi and his work or of the lofty and disinterested motives which first attracted them to him, and then kept them with him. Their lodging was even more primitive than their living. Some of the oldest of them lived outside the Castle, but the rest had not even a private room, and when they wanted to work alone, were obliged to construct little wooden cabins in the upper, uninhabited storeys of the round towers that crowned the four corners of the old building.

Pestalozzi's rooms were on the second floor of the north front. He often invited the masters there to take coffee with him, and not infrequently held receptions in the evening, to which some of the pupils were asked, and where occasionally townspeople or visitors might be seen. His wife did the honours with a pleasing and touching grace. Although still delicate from the hardships she had suffered at Neuhof, she had preserved all her freshness of imagination, as well as a certain poetical feeling, and this made her a most pleasant centre of conversation.

As for Pestalozzi himself, he accosted everybody with gentle kindliness. His conversation was animated and clever, full of imagination and originality, but difficult to follow, on account of his pronunciation. But he was never long the same, passing in a moment from frank, open-hearted gaiety to profound and even melancholy meditation. Always absent-minded and preoccupied, he was a prey to a feverish restlessness, and could never sit down for long together; he used to walk up and down the corridors of the Castle, one hand behind his back, or in the breast of his coat, the other holding the end of his necktie between his teeth. He used to appear every day like this in the middle of the lessons. If the teaching satisfied him, his face would become radiant with pleasure, he would caress the children and say a few pleasant words to them; but if, on the other hand, he was not satisfied, he would angrily leave the room at once, slamming the door behind him.

He continued to work with indefatigable zeal at improving his "method," and making new applications of it. Every morning, as early as two o'clock, he called an under-master to his bedside to write from his dictation. But he was rarely satisfied with his own work, and made continual corrections, often starting afresh.

At this time Pestalozzi had set up a printing press in the Castle, which he kept fairly busy. But the Yverdun publications of 1807–1811 no longer bear in every part the stamp of the simple, original, impulsive genius of the head of the institute; they were not so much his work, indeed, as that of his collaborators.

First came a pamphlet, edited by Niederer, with the title: *On the Principles and Plan of a Journal Announced in* 1807; then, *A Glance at My Views and Educational Efforts*, in which the ideas and even the style of Pestalozzi can be easily recognized; lastly, *A Report to Parents and the Public on the Yverdun Institute*. This last publication contains a little boasting and many promises; both in matter and manner it would seem to be merely an expression of Niederer's enthusiasm.

At the same time the *Weekly Journal for the Education of Humanity* was commenced. It was published from 1807 to 1811, and forms four volumes. It contains articles by Pestalozzi's chief helpers, and very many by Pestalozzi himself, nearly all retouched, however, by Niederer, who seems to have thought it his duty to make his master's style a little more philosophical. Amongst the latter is the noteworthy discourse pronounced by Pestalozzi, in 1809, at a gathering of the Society of the Friends of Education, at Lenzburg, but even this has received improvements and considerable additions at the hand of his philosopher-in-chief.

It was at this time and in the same press that the *Exercises on Numbers and Forms*, the work of Schmidt, were printed.

The works of Pestalozzi which were edited by Niederer have a distinct value of their own, and are well worth consulting. Their importance results not merely from the ideas furnished by Pestalozzi, but also from those added by Niederer, which are not without a certain interest, and explain in part the discord which was so soon to break out.

This is not the place to describe these writings and discuss the share taken by each in their compilation; it would but interrupt our story without giving us any new facts sufficiently well established and sufficiently important to help us in our study of Pestalozzi's thought. We reserve this discussion, therefore, for the appendix.

But before finishing this chapter we must speak for a moment of the methods of physical training and manual work employed in the institute, and of the various festivals kept by the pupils. That we may not have to return to this subject, we shall not hesitate to anticipate somewhat.

When the weather was favourable, some hours in the afternoon were given every week to military exercises. The pupils formed a little regiment of their own, to which neither flag, drums, band, nor armoury were wanting; they soon learned to go through the most complicated manœuvres with wonderful precision. When there was any shooting to be done, the non-commissioned officers had to make the cartridges under the direction of an instructing officer. From time to time they had a sham-fight in some suitable spot a few miles from the town. They used then to start very early in the morning, with a waggon for the provisions and ammunition. Many parents and sight-seers often joined the party, so that it was a great day for the pupils. Sometimes there was target-shooting, the prize for which was a ewe with its lamb, and the use of a small shed in the garden.

Gymnastics, prisoner's-base and other games went on regularly. There was skating as well in the winter; and in summer, bathing in the lake and mountain excursions. The first day of spring was celebrated every year by a walk on the neighbouring heights; sometimes, however, a late snow-storm would render this impossible, in which case the children consoled themselves by going the first fine day.

We know that manual labour had a place in Pestalozzi's scheme; it was often tried at the institute, but never kept up in a regular manner. The great number and diversity both of the pupils and their occupations proved an insurmountable obstacle. Gardening met with most success. Sometimes the pupils had a little patch of their own to cultivate; sometimes they were told off in twos and threes to work for a few hours, under the direction of the gardener. They did fairly well at bookbinding and cardboard work; they also made solids for the study of geometry.

But it was especially on the occasion of the festivals, of which we have still to speak, that the greatest demands were made on their skill and judgment.

The end of the year was devoted to making New Year albums to send to the parents, containing drawings, maps, mathematical problems, fragments of history, descriptions of natural objects, and literary compositions. On New Year's day there was a religious service, with a discourse by Pestalozzi; a distribution of presents from the parents; a grand dinner; and, in the evening, a torch-light procession through the town (each pupil made his own torch), followed by a ball, to which the girls of the neighbouring institute were invited, together with a certain number of guests from the town. For the next few days very little work was done, everybody being occupied in preparing for Pestalozzi's birthday, the 12th of January. The pupils of each class decorated their room, transforming it into a woodland scene, with cottage, chapel, ruins, and sometimes a fountain, which was so arranged as to play on Pestalozzi's entrance. Fir-branches, ivy, and moss were fetched in large quantities from the neighbouring forests, and transparencies, with emblems and inscriptions, were secretly prepared; for the decoration of each room was to be a surprise, not only to Pestalozzi, but to all the other pupils. Songs were also learnt in Pestalozzi's honour. The leading idea of most of the inscriptions was: "In summer you take us to see Nature; to-day we are trying to bring Nature to you." Often too, on that day, the pupils gave a dramatic performance, the subject of which was generally chosen from among the great episodes of Swiss history in the middle ages. On these occasions the actors made their own dresses and armour from cardboard and coloured paper.

We take the following passages from the journal kept by Mérian, of Basle, who was a pupil of Pestalozzi's from 1806 to 1810, and who afterwards became an engineer at Neuchâtel:

> "12*th January*, 1808.—Pestalozzi's birthday festival. At the end of the day the richer children made a collection amongst themselves for the poor of the town. Mrs. Pestalozzi and Mrs. Kuster took charge of the money, which amounted to about four pounds.
>
> "30*th September*, 1809.—Fortieth anniversary of 'Father' Pestalozzi's marriage. Great rejoicings, discourse by Niederer; beautiful songs, room decorated with garlands. Grand supper for three hundred people in five rooms. Afterwards dance, opened by Mr. and Mrs. Pestalozzi alone, in the old-fashioned way."[1]

It was the custom, on Christmas Eve, to set up a great fir-tree in the room in which the services were held, lighted with candles and loaded with golden nuts, apples, etc. This was the traditional and popular German Christmas-tree, at that time unknown in French-speaking countries, but since then naturalized everywhere. There were also religious discourses and prayers, interspersed with joyful songs, in which the children always took an extreme pleasure.

Indeed, singing played a great part in Pestalozzi's institute, and was the joy of nearly everybody in the house. There was singing everywhere and always. Two Swiss, Pfeiffer and Nægeli, had brought Pestalozzi valuable help in this matter by publishing some admirable collections of sweet, simple songs for children, in which Germany, it must be confessed, is very rich. We were also taught a few French songs, but they were far from satisfying us to the same extent. Thanks, however, to many praiseworthy efforts, France has sensibly improved in this respect.

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[1] Pestalozzi was then sixty-three years old, and his wife seventy.

We have tried to show what the Yverdun institute was like during the first years of its existence. At that time its fame had spread far and wide, and yet, as we shall now see, it already contained a defect which was destined to result in its ruin.

CHAPTER XIV.

DECLINE OF THE INSTITUTE.

Pestalozzi the first to point it out. Its causes. Pestalozzi asks the Swiss Diet to inspect his institute. Father Girard's report. Niederer's controversy with the newspapers that disparage the work. He quarrels with Schmidt. The latter leaves the institute. Pestalozzi's yearly discourses. New helpers. French pupils and masters at Yverdun. Alexander Boniface. Illness of Pestalozzi. The Allies in Switzerland. Pestalozzi and the Czar at Basle. The Peace appears to bring new prosperity to the institute. Numerous pupils and visitors. Doctor Bell at Yverdun. Internal troubles at the institute. Schmidt recalled. Death of Mrs. Pestalozzi. The other masters impatient with Schmidt's spirit of domination. They leave the institute.

AT the end of 1807, when the establishment at Yverdun was at the zenith of its fame and exciting the admiration of scholars and sovereigns; when it was attracting crowds of pupils, disciples and visitors from every country, and filling everybody connected with it with joy and hope, one man alone was dissatisfied, one man alone saw that it could not endure, that it was doomed, like a plant at whose root there gnaws an undying worm. This man was Pestalozzi himself.

It was his habit on New Year's day to assemble the whole of his establishment, and, after passing in review the events of the past year, to give expression to his hopes and fears for the future, speaking quite freely all that was in his heart.

His discourse of the 1st of January, 1808, is full of sadness and discouragement; he pronounced it by the side of his open coffin, which he had ordered to be brought into the room. It runs as follows:

"The old year is gone; the new one is here. I am still in your midst, but feel none of the joy you would expect me to feel. I seem to see my hour approaching; I seem to hear a voice crying above my head: 'Give an account of thy stewardship, for thou must die.'

"Can I give a satisfactory account? Have I been a faithful steward towards God, towards men, towards myself?

"I am happy, and the sound of my happiness is in my ears like the noise of bees seeking a home. But I must die, and what does this noise tell me? That I do not deserve happiness, that I am not happy. The past year has not been a happy one. The ice has broken under me just where I wanted to walk most surely; my life-work has betrayed defects which I had never suspected; the very bond which unites us has shown itself weak where I thought it strongest. I have seen perdition where I looked for salvation, anger where I looked for peace, coldness where I looked for love. I have seen trust withdrawn at a time when I seemed unable to breathe, to live, without it. . . . There is my coffin. What else is left to me but the hope of the tomb? My heart is lacerated; I am no longer what I was yesterday; love, trust and hope have forsaken me. Why should I still live? Why did God preserve me so miraculously from the feet of the horses?[1] The bandage which blinded me to the truth about my life is torn away. The dream which deceived me as to my value and happiness is gone. What is there left for me to do in a world where I have made nothing but mistakes, where I have ever deceived myself, and where, in an hour, I shall do so again? Yet this present moment, this first hour of the year, should at least put the whole truth clearly and plainly before our eyes. I have made far too much of a happiness I did not deserve. . . .

"Poor, weak, humble, unworthy, incapable and ignorant, I yet set myself to my work. The world accounted it madness, but God's hand was with me. My work prospered. I found friends who loved both it and me. I knew not what I did, I hardly knew what I wanted. And yet my work prospered. It came from nothing, as the world at its creation. It is God's work. . . . Realize, my friends, that it is God's work. And may God's work unite us anew, not as the wicked are united, but as angels with angels. You were astonished that I was saved from the horses' feet, but my work has been preserved more marvellously even than my poor body. It is a miracle that I am still alive, but it is a still greater miracle that my work should have escaped the dangers of Burgdorf, Munchenbuchsee, and Yverdun!

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[1] In December, 1807, as Pestalozzi was walking with Krusi on a very dark night, he was knocked down by some horses, trampled upon, and thrown into a ditch, from which Krusi drew him out with his clothes torn, but without a scratch. Pestalozzi at once returned thanks to God for this miraculous escape.

"New dangers threaten it, which, with God's help, it will surmount. But shall I surmount them? My heart is full of doubt and fear; I feel that I do not deserve my happiness, that it is about to finish. But my work will subsist, for gold is not consumed, but purified, in the fire. . . .

"But it will not subsist through me. It cannot; I am not worthy that it should; for I have been weak in truth and love. . . . Happiness I have had, though never for long. Often have I allowed it to escape, where a child might have held it. . . . What God was doing for me I looked upon as my own work. In my madness I thought that it was I who worked the miracles with which He surrounded me. I accepted praise for what I had not done, and thought myself the author of a work which was not mine. . . .

"This work was founded by love, but love has disappeared from our midst. It could not indeed stay, for we had not foreseen the demands it would make upon us. The work, too, required patience, and I had none. I was even impatient when I should have been grateful. O God, how did I come to this, how did I fall so low? Let me confess my fault before Thee and these my friends. My blindness has exceeded belief. With miracles Thou didst build up my work, with miracles support it, and yet I fancied that it needed little support. Afterwards, when I came to see how much strength it required, I tried to make others do what I myself neglected. I inconsiderately insisted upon what I should have humbly prayed for, and tried to maintain the life of my establishment by forces that my faults and weaknesses had banished from our midst. And so there have been misunderstandings amongst us, and bonds are broken that I thought fast tied for ever, and hearts estranged that I thought indissolubly united.

"Such is my position. The coffin you see there is my only consolation. I can no longer do anything to help. The poison at the heart of our work is spreading, and the praise of the world, which is ours to-day, will but encourage it.

"O God, grant that our blindness may pass away! The laurels heaped upon us do but cover a skeleton, for it is only the skeleton of my work which is before us, before my eyes and yours. And I see that the laurels which cover it will be consumed by fire, the irresistible fire of affliction which is coming upon my house. My work will, indeed, subsist, but the consequences of my mistakes will remain. They will crush me; the tomb is my only refuge.

"But though I go, you will remain. Would that my words might be burnt into your hearts!

"Friends, be better than I was, that God may achieve, through you, the work I have failed to achieve. Do not, by your faults, heap obstacles in your path, as I have done. Be not deceived, as I have been, by the appearance of success.

"You are called to a great, an utter sacrifice; without it you will not complete my work.

"Enjoy the present, enjoy the honour which men are heaping upon us, but remember that it will pass like the flower of the fields, which blooms for a moment and is gone.

"Once more, look at my coffin. Perhaps this very year it will receive my bones or those of a woman who, for my sake, has sacrificed all the happiness of her life. . . . I already seem to see these walls hung with black, because this coffin is beneath the ground, because I or my wife, or perhaps both of us, have gone down to the grave. May we rest in peace! May you shed tears of love and pardon over us, and may God's blessing remain with you. I await my end calmly and hopefully. And yet there is another possibility, the mere thought of which fills me with dread: I might live to see my work ruined by my mistakes. This would be a calamity that I should not have strength to endure. I should hang my room with black, and hide myself for ever from the eyes of men, for whose society I should no longer deem myself worthy."

This discourse is too characteristic for us to be satisfied, like other biographers, with quoting a few isolated passages. We have, however, abridged it as far as possible, cutting out everything that was only the repetition or development of ideas already expressed.

Can this indeed be the head of a great institution speaking to his assistants? Is it conceivable that now, at the moment of its greatest prosperity, he should feel obliged to speak thus? There is nothing in this extreme openness and humility on Pestalozzi's part to surprise us; but even allowing for this, what reasons could he have had for taking this view of the position of his institute and of its future? We must endeavour to make his reasons clear.

In the first place, Pestalozzi at that time felt instinctively, though perhaps vaguely, that his work, so far as its realization in an educational institution was concerned, was an impossibility. He explains this at the end of his life in the book entitled, *My Experiences*, where he says: "I was already lost at Burgdorf by my attempt to do what was utterly foolish and absurd." Indeed, when we remember that his plan in teaching was to follow from the earliest childhood an order entirely different from that followed elsewhere, an order, that is, which should be natural and unbroken; and when we remember, further, that he intended that the power acquired by the child in its first exercises should enable it to surmount subsequent difficulties by its own efforts, we can hardly understand that he should have thought it possible to pursue such a course in an establishment which received children from every country and of every age. It often happened, for instance, that big boys arrived at the institute who could not be placed in the elementary classes with the little children, and who yet were not sufficiently prepared for the higher classes. Some compromise therefore was necessary, the result of which was generally disastrous, not only to the method, but also to the instruction of the pupils.

In the next place, Pestalozzi based morality and discipline on the relations of the family life; he wanted to be a father to his children. This beautiful and touching fiction of paternity, which had been a living and healthful reality in his first experiments, could no longer be maintained in an institution which, from the number of its pupils and their many differences of language, culture, habits, and antecedents, was almost a world. It failed at Yverdun, in spite of heroic efforts. In vain did he divide the pupils amongst his assistants, and ask them, as far as possible, to take his place, and keep him informed of their needs and progress; in vain did he send for them in turn to his study for friendly talks, and employ caresses and exhortations when he met them. They still called him "Father Pestalozzi," it is true, but he no longer knew them as a father should know his children. And thus the discipline of affection slowly disappeared, without being replaced by the more or less military discipline of the school, and the home-life at Yverdun soon developed into a sort of ill-regulated public life.

We have seen that Pestalozzi especially complains that love and concord no longer exist in the institute; that was, indeed, the chief evil and the real cause of its ruin. But he blames himself for it, attributing it to his impatience and exacting demands. In this, however, he is doing himself a flagrant injustice and with a magnanimity which should have touched those who were really in fault. Niederer and Schmidt were two powerful aids, both very valuable to him, and in a measure necessary for the execution of his projects. But neither of these two men could identify himself with him as his earlier helpers had done, with perfect simplicity and self-forgetfulness.

Niederer had grasped the master's thought by its philosophical and speculative side, and had formulated it in a way which, without entirely satisfying Pestalozzi, yet seemed useful for spreading it abroad, and making it attractive to scholars. It was in the direction of this philosophical idea, as he himself had conceived it, that Niederer was always encouraging Pestalozzi, opposing everything that seemed to him a deviation from the principle. But Niederer had no talent for practical questions of administration and discipline, and in this respect was of little help to Pestalozzi.

Schmidt, on the contrary, saw nothing more in the master's system than an excellent method for teaching mathematics, to which he had applied it with a success which aroused the admiration of the visitors, and contributed more than anything else to the reputation of the institute. In addition to this, in matters of discipline and administration, his strong common-sense and iron will made up for what Pestalozzi lacked. He was pre-eminently practical, and this was what attracted Pestalozzi to him. He cared little for principles when it was a question of maintaining or extending the reputation and material prosperity of the institute.

It is clear that these two men exercised a contradictory influence on Pestalozzi; each wished to lead him his own way. They could neither understand nor respect each other. Their antagonism had broken up the harmony of this great family, and hence Pestalozzi had been able to exclaim so sorrowfully, "Love has disappeared from our midst."

Such were the defects that Pestalozzi had discovered in his institute at the beginning of 1808. For more than fifteen years he struggled to remedy them, and not indeed without occasional and momentary successes; but at last, after many changes of fortune, he was obliged to succumb, and thus suffered the very misfortune he had so much dreaded, the misfortune of outliving all his enterprises.

We have still to relate the different phases of this sad period of decadence. In view of the inevitable end, the story would have but little interest if we had not always with us Pestalozzi's unfailing courage and genius; for, although the old man became more and more incapable in the ordinary matters of life, although he ended by submitting blindly to the will of others and making mistake after mistake, he yet preserved to the very last both his ardent love for the poor and weak ones of this world, and the powerful originality of a mind always occupied with the educational reform which had been the one aim of his life. In following Pestalozzi's thought from this point, we shall find valuable help in the discourses he was in the habit of pronouncing before the whole school at such times as Christmas and the New Year, or on his birthday. These discourses were the outpourings of his heart, in which all his fears and hopes, sorrows and joys, thoughts and feelings, were laid absolutely bare. They are full, too, of his religious faith, his love for men, his ardent desire to raise the people, and the educational views by which he sought to reach his end. Most of the discourses have been published at different times. They are all to be found in Seyffarth, volume xiii.

Pestalozzi's discourse of the 1st of January, 1808, had painfully surprised all the masters, but they were not at all convinced that the evil which he so bemoaned really existed. They all endeavoured to reassure the old man by pointing to the prosperity and increasing renown of the institute; and, this year particularly, the admiration of visitors and the number of enthusiastic reports that were published on all sides, seemed to lend colour to their arguments. And so Pestalozzi took heart again, and, for a moment, his old illusions revived. But his confidence was of short duration, and in spite of all his assistants could urge to the contrary, the feeling that the institute was in danger was soon stronger in him than ever. At last, to finally dispel his fears, the masters proposed that he should ask the Helvetian Diet to make an official inspection of the institute, and to this the old man consented.[1]

Pestalozzi's request reached the Diet at Freiburg, in June, 1809, and shortly afterwards a Commission was duly appointed to inspect the institute, composed of Abel Mérian, member of the Petty Council at Basle; Trechsel, professor of mathematics at Berne; and Father Girard, of Freiburg.

The commissioners arrived at the Castle in November, 1809, and spent five days there, interrogating masters and pupils, and examining everything with the greatest care.

It is curious to see how Father Girard speaks of this inspection in the book he published thirty-seven years afterwards, entitled: *On the Systematic Teaching of the Mother-tongue.*[2]

"To cultivate the minds of the young was my intention as it was my duty, but I did not, as yet, understand how useful the mother-tongue might be made in this respect. It was only on the occasion of an official visit paid to Pestalozzi's institute at Yverdun that, by talking with my two worthy colleagues, and by very carefully considering the official report which I had been charged to draw up, the darkness in which I had been groping was suddenly dispelled. On a previous visit, I had remarked to my old friend Pestalozzi that mathematics seemed to me to play far too important a part in his school, and that I was afraid the general education of his children would suffer from it. Whereupon he answered with characteristic heat: 'The fact is, I do not wish my children to know anything which cannot be proved to them as clearly as that two and two make four.' 'In that case,' I said, 'if I had thirty sons, I would not entrust you with one of them; for it would be impossible for you to show him as clearly as that two and two are four that I am his father, and that it is his duty to obey me.' This brought about a retraction of the exaggeration into which he had been betrayed,—not an unusual thing with this impulsive genius,—and we soon arrived at an understanding.

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[1] Schmidt alone was opposed to this inspection, feeling that the system of studies in the institute was not yet, as a whole, in a satisfactory condition.

[2] Published at Paris in 1846, and crowned by the French Academy.

"However, so great was the attention given to mathematics in his institute, that the mother-tongue was comparatively neglected, and suffered considerably in consequence. My colleagues and myself were also struck by another anomaly. We found that the children had indeed reached a high pitch of excellence in abstract mathematics, but that in all ordinary practical calculations they were inconceivably feeble."

This last criticism contains a manifest error on Father Girard's part, which, considering his high position, would certainly be most astonishing, if we did not know how hard it is to place ourselves suddenly at a point of view totally different from that to which we have been long accustomed. Abstract calculations were precisely what Pestalozzi would have nothing to do with; he accustomed his children to concrete numbers from the very first, and all the ordinary problems of practical life they solved with ease. They worked them, however, in their heads, and did not learn till later the use of written figures, in which they therefore remained weak and unpractised for a long time. But it is just the conventional methods necessitated by our arbitrary written system that constitute an abstract calculation, and yet it is these very methods that Father Girard calls the "ordinary practical calculations" in which he found the children so "inconceivably feeble."

The examination being over, the masters of the institute and the commissioners separated, not very satified with each other. At Yverdun it was felt that the report would be unfavourable. Pestalozzi had expected it, but Niederer and those who shared his illusion were surprised and irritated by it; they thought themselves misjudged. It had been settled that written documents should be sent to the commissioners for the purpose of making their information still more complete, and a very lengthy correspondence now ensued between Niederer and Abel Mérian, the president of the Commission, and Father Girard, who was to draw up the report. Niederer said that the commissioners had not grasped the spirit of the institution; that they had only seen the changing outward form, and not the unchanging essence; to which the commissioners made answer that their instructions had charged them to examine facts and not ideas.

In a letter of the 31st of January, 1810, Father Girard writes to Abel Mérian that he is surprised at not having yet received the documents which were to have been sent from Yverdun, and adds:

> "My opinion is that the institute was not worth all the attention that has been bestowed upon it. Now that I have considered it from every point of view, I am inclined to think it far inferior to the cantonal school of Aarau, and the Institute of St. Gallen, to say nothing of older institutions. It is inconceivable that it should have obtained such celebrity and favour."

Some time afterwards Pestalozzi himself expressed his opinion of the work of the Commission as follows:

> "The commissioners were alarmed at the very outset by seeing how entirely we neglected the teaching of certain common subjects which are treated with the utmost care in the smallest schools, and that being so, they had neither faith nor courage to go deeper into the matter, and much of the good escaped them altogether.
>
> "Their report did our work much harm, and placed it much lower than it deserved."

But if Pestalozzi thought the commission had not seen all the good, Father Girard thought it had not seen all the bad; for even as early as the 9th of December, 1809, he had written: "Besides, many things were concealed from us."

The report of Father Girard appeared in French in September, 1810, and the German translation by Bernard Hüber in October. It was drawn up with great moderation and with great consideration for Pestalozzi, who could certainly not have wished for a more worthy judge. Girard, however, pointed out serious gaps in the instruction given at the institute. He praised the discipline, but declared that the religious teaching was insufficient, and blamed Niederer, in whose hands it had been left, for the methods he had adopted. He found fault with him, for instance, for beginning his lessons with a sort of natural religion, for then passing on to the Old Testament, and for only touching upon the New in his preparation of pupils for the Holy Communion, at the special request of parents.

We are, however, in a position to affirm from our own experience that such was not Niederer's habitual plan. Indeed, at the very time of the inspection, we were following his lessons on religion in a class of children of from eight to nine years of age, where we began by reading the Gospel according to St. Matthew, learning by heart a portion of the Sermon on the Mount. But, as we have already said, none of the teaching at the institute of Yverdun was very regular or connected, except perhaps in mathematics, in which there was not much alteration.

The report of Father Girard terminated thus:

"The teaching given at Pestalozzi's institute is not in harmony with that of the various establishments of public instruction, nor has the institute sought to establish that harmony. Resolved, at any price, to seek the development of the faculties of the child according to the principles of Pestalozzi, it has thought only of its own views, and betrays a burning zeal to open up new paths, even should they be in opposition to those established by usage. Perhaps it was the only way of arriving at useful discoveries, but it has made all harmony with public establishments impossible. The institute goes its own way, and public establishments go theirs, and it is not probable that their views will soon coincide. It is a sad pity that the force of events should always drive Pestalozzi from the path laid down for him by his zeal and goodness. But justice will always be done to his good intentions, his noble efforts, and his unconquerable perseverance. Let us take advantage of the excellent ideas which form the basis of his work, and follow the instructive examples it offers us, but let us, at the same time, pity the lot of a man whom the force of circumstances has always prevented from carrying out what it was his purpose to do."

This report was presented to the Diet, which, on assembling at Soleure in 1811, merely voted thanks to Pestalozzi, and then let the matter drop.

For some years previously, however, the work of Pestalozzi had been exposed to rather severe attacks in several publications in Switzerland and Germany. Every reform which calls for strenuous efforts and, as it were, mental renovation, always finds adversaries amongst men whose reputation is already made, and who believe that there is nothing to change in their theories or their practice. This is especially the case in matters of education. It was alleged against Pestalozzi, sometimes that his ideas were not new, sometimes that they were inapplicable; even the real defects of his institute were not pointed out without a certain amount of spiteful exaggeration.

The report of Father Girard spread joy in the camp of the adversaries by supplying them with new arms; their attacks became sharper, more animated, more unjust than ever, especially in a Göttingen paper, in which Professor Heller described the institute of Yverdun as a nest of revolutionaries, and in the Zurich *Popular Gazette*, in which an ecclesiastic, named Brémi, attacked Pestalozzi's work in an article entitled: *Three Dozen Questions.*

The old man, deeply hurt by this last blow, said in an answer to Brémi:

"It distresses me, I confess, to see my establishment and my friends calumniated in my native town more than in any other place. I am pained that it should be within its walls that the very things that are most captious and most dangerous to me and my work should be written, and that people should print the most bitter attack of all, and the one most calculated to ruin my establishment and my undertaking."

From this time an angry, bitter, and interminable polemic was carried on between the institute and its traducers. It was generally Niederer who answered the attacks, though often in Pestalozzi's name. This paper war was thenceforth the great preoccupation of the inhabitants of the Castle, who worked harder to restore the reputation of the institute without than to deserve it within.

There was certainly room for many improvements, but none were attempted. However, as we have seen, the first cause of the evil was in the very nature of things. Pestalozzi's method had nothing whatever in common with the teaching of the ordinary public establishments. This absence of any harmony between the instruction given at the institute and that of the public schools had already truck the examiners; such harmony could only have been restored by modifying the method itself, but this neither Pestalozzi nor his fellow-workers were at all inclined to do.

Schmidt alone would have been disposed to do so, because he set more price on the success of the institute than on maintaining the spirit in which it had been founded. This divergence of views added intestine war to that which the institute was carrying on against its outside foes, and the old antagonism between Niederer and Schmidt broke out again more violently than ever.

Before the publication of Father Girard's report, and in anticipation of what it would be, Schmidt, at a general meeting of the masters, had already asked for certain reforms, which, however, had been refused. Now, as it seemed impossible to come to an understanding, and as Niederer's opinion again prevailed, Schmidt was obliged to leave the institute. He did so in July, 1810, with some of his adherents. It was on this occasion that Pestalozzi exclaimed:

> "If I were but twenty years younger, I would leave too, and go and find something that I could do, and set to work to do it; but I have made too many fresh beginnings already to have any strength left for more!"

The Chancellor von Beyme, who about this time was sent to visit the establishment at Yverdun by the King of Prussia, said on taking his leave:

"If I were to hear to-morrow that the institute was closed, I should really be less astonished than if it were to last another year."

Such was the state of Pestalozzi's establishment in 1810, and yet pupils and visitors continued to arrive, and new masters, amongst whom were a few remarkably able men, came and gave lessons. At the same time the teaching was extended to several subjects which were either quite new or had been comparatively neglected, such as chemistry, Latin, and Greek.

We must now return to Pestalozzi's discourses, which tell us from year to year of the state of his feelings and the progress of his thought. On the 1st of January, 1809, his mind is at peace again. He thanks God who has come to his rescue and saved his work from the dangers which had beset it, and humbly acknowledges that the favour was more than he deserved. Then, after thanking God, he thanks his fellow-workers for their share in this good result, and continues thus:

"Almighty Father, who leadest us, complete the miracles of Thy grace towards me! Keep my friends true to me till my dying day. Preserve the bond which joins us until the work with which Thou hast filled my heart, and which, till now, Thy grace has preserved, be accomplished. O God, my Creator, let me preserve the only strength Thou hast given me—the power of love! Let me not forget for a single moment all that I owe Thee, and all that I owe to the friends around me. Renew my love for Thee. Renew my love for these children in whom I place my hopes, and in whom I shall find the consolation of my life, which can have no other value than that which is given by them.

"I now turn to you, boys and girls, my own dear children. What shall I say to you out of the fulness of my heart at this solemn hour, this beginning of a new year? I would fain press you all to my heart with tears of joy, whilst giving praises to our Father in heaven for permitting me to be a father to you. I would fain fall upon my knees and say to my Father in heaven: Lord, behold me, with the children Thou hast given me. Forgive me, for I am far from being what I ought to have been for these dear chilren; forgive me, for I have not been their father as I ought to have been. I would fain fall upon my knees and say to Him: Lord, the burden Thou hast cast upon my shoulders is too heavy for me; Thou who hast given it to me, help me to bear it, and give us, whom Thou hast called to watch over these children, Thy Holy Spirit, Thy Spirit of love and wisdom, the Spirit of Jesus Christ, so that, fortified by Thy strength, we may holily complete the work which Thou hast given us to perform, and by our love, and faith in Thy love, lead our children to be indeed Thine own. . . .

"We simplify the means of the development of the faculties, and we stimulate this development with nothing but the holy force of love. My children, let this love increase and take root in you; that is all we ask.

"Teaching in itself does not produce love any more than it produces hatred. And thus the centre and essential principle of education is not teaching but love, which alone is an eternal emanation of the divinity within us."

The discourse of the 1st of January, 1810, is an urgent appeal for the revival of a life of faith, love, concord, self-sacrifice, and effort.

The examination of the Federal Commission had just taken place, and Pestalozzi, although believing his institute wrongly judged, appears to feel that it is susceptible of improvement. He is anxious that this improvement shall begin with the new year, and last throughout its whole course. He begs that there may be an end to illusions, vanity, weakness, and negligence. He first addresses his pupils according to their ages, then the young men who are studying his method for the purpose of introducing it into their own country, and then his old collaborators and friends; finally he examines himself, and reviews his past life, thanking God for all he has received from Him in spite of his unworthiness, and asking for help to become better than he has hitherto been.

We are sorry that this discourse is too long to be given in full. A few quotations, however, will serve to show the spirit which animated Pestalozzi at this time, though our translation may rob his words of much of their force and touching originality:

"Little children, whom we love as Jacob loved Joseph and Benjamin, what are we to wish you for this new year? A life of innocence and love. Be then always joyful! Enjoy the beauties of Nature! When the beautiful butterfly flutters over your heads, when the caterpillar crawls at your feet, when the stone glitters before your eyes, when the flower expands in your sight, make them your own, and treasure them, and be happy that God has made Nature so lovely, and that you are capable of understanding and enjoying it. But then think of your fathers and mothers, who, in their love for you, have given you liberty, the better to secure your happiness. Think of your fathers and mothers, who often perhaps shed a silent tear because you are no longer near them, because they can no longer embrace you every day. I would that tears should sometimes fill your own eyes because you are no longer able to see them at all times. To-day, with tears in your eyes and with hearts full of love and gratitude, wish them a happy year, and pray to your Father in heaven, who is also their Father, that He will bless them, and by making you pious and good, bring them consolation and happiness. . . .

"I now address you, young men, who are already masters and fellow-workers with us. What should this new year bring you? Be as simple as little children, and walk ever in the way of love and truth. May you increase in strength, virtue, and dignity; may you be united to help on the work which has formed you! Turn your eyes with faith to Him who begins and ends all that is good on earth. May you recognize the magnitude of the work with awe, and may your hearts be far from pride, foolish presumption, or the puerile thought that you have already climbed mountains! Oh, no, no! we are all still at the foot of the mountain; we are far, very far, from the summit we are anxious to reach. I shall not see it; the cold tomb will have covered me long before we are near. When I close my eyes, my last word to you will be: Do not deceive yourselves as to the height of the mountains you have to climb. They are higher, much higher, than they appear. When you have climbed one, you will but find yourselves at the foot of the next, and should you have mistaken the way and wish to stop and rest yourselves on the first height, your feet will become weak, and you will never see, any more than I have done, the true summit of the mountain. . . .

"And you, my friends, who helped me to lay the first foundations of this institute, and have supported with patience and love these troubled times—friends without whom my work would never have existed—what shall I say to you? What is this work? Is it really our work? No, no! Often, indeed, our fears vanished, though we saw a sword hanging over our heads. But often, too, our expectations have been deceived, and our hopes destroyed. As a rivulet which rushes from the mountain, our work owes its direction to its own weight; nor could we, who were stationed at its source, foresee whither it would flow. As the rivulet increased, it received tributaries of which we knew nothing, and which, by their united force, carried away the waters of our rivulet with their own. And so our work is controlled by a higher power, a power which is of God, and which has helped us far beyond our expectations, and far beyond our deserts. . . . Every one calls it our work, but it is the work of God. Even this year again it requires, as it were, a new creation. . . . We are in danger, we are in great danger; but we believe in Him who has so often rescued the work that was in danger in our hands, we believe in Him who has so often led His river through rocks which were impeding its progress. This year again He will cause it to flow on towards its destination. . . .

"Friends, brothers, children! my soul overflows with joy. The Lord has worked great things in me. May I be more worthy of His goodness! May I, in spite of my weakness, be a father to you! I both can and will, so far, that is, as a man can be the father of his fellow-creatures. But God is the Father of us all. May He keep us all in His truth and His love, and pour out upon us during this year His most precious blessings! Amen!"

The Christmas discourse of 1810 speaks first of the great joy that all men should feel in thinking of Jesus Christ, made man for our redemption, and of ourselves, pardoned, sanctified, united through love, in communion with God and the Saviour for eternity. It is a joy which is celestial and Divine, which surpasses all other joys on earth, and which is for all men and for all times. But to partake of this joy our hearts must be full of the Spirit of Jesus Christ, and our hands full of good gifts for men. After having developed these ideas, he applies them to the work of his institution as follows:

"If we wish this Christmas-day to be a festival for our hearts, let us make sure that love is in our midst! But love cannot exist apart from the strength and Holy Spirit of Jesus Christ. Brothers and friends! if we are without that strength and that Spirit, our house is built upon the sand. . . . Association between men does but corrupt instead of exalting them, if they are not made one by the strength and Spirit of Jesus Christ. . . .

"To-day we can no longer expect any happiness save that which results from our own virtue; our virtue alone can maintain our association and lead it on in the right direction. Friends, you are almost without a leader. My strength is spent; I can no longer set the example of what each and all of us must do daily, and your task is heavy. . . . May this holy day bring us a renewal of strength in the service of our work. Brothers and friends, let us rejoice at the coming of Jesus Christ, and let us rejoice also at our holy association in a common work. May our joy be the pure effect of our faith in Jesus Christ and our love for Him. . . .

"Brothers and friends! I am the weakest among you; but I am prepared for every sacrifice to save the holy cause which is our common aim. Be ye so likewise. It is not a small matter to put your hand to the education of men, and to say to the world: 'Here we are, anxious and able to improve the education of mankind. . . .' The world has given us its confidence; it covered us with laurels when we had barely begun to look for the means of changing our great dream into a reality. I was deceived myself; I thought that the road leading to my end was much shorter than it really is. The praise we received, the success of some few isolated experiments, strengthened our error, and had a bad influence on our association and our work. The light and superficial spirit of the day lauded us too much, and made praise of us too much a matter of fashion. But now the disease which has betrayed itself in our work has changed the nature of men's judgments; blame has commenced, and I foresee that the same light and superficial spirit will also make fault-finding a matter of fashion. However, it is well for us that this hour is come; it is better for us than the hour of vain glory."

The discourse of the 1st of January, 1811, is remarkable from the fact that Pestalozzi addresses himself personally to Niederer and Krusi, and even to Schmidt, who is no longer there. He begins by a religious statement, of which the substance is: Life passes like years, years like the hours of the day; everything changes, everything is destroyed. God, and man created in His image, alone remain eternal.

Man is only man, however, and only immortal by virtue of the Divine which is in him: the love of God and of his fellow-men. When man lives for this Divine inward essence, when all his faculties and sentiments are quickened by the love of God, then he sees time and years pass by as a part of eternity, for he is already in possession of life eternal. After having developed these ideas, Pestalozzi first applies them to his institute, and then to the work which is being accomplished there, and to all the persons who are taking part in it. He exhorts every one to work in the love of God and of men, not for what passes with the world, but for the Divine and unchangeable part of us which remains eternally.

The following passages from his speech will show the relations which then existed between him and his fellow-labourers:

"You, Niederer, the first of my sons, what shall I say to you? What shall I wish for you? How shall I thank you? You fathom the lowest depths of truth; you walk in its labyrinths as in beaten tracks. Love guides your steps, and, full of courage, you throw down the glove to those who abandon the path of truth, who seek only appearances, and make imposture their god. Friend, you are my support; my work rests upon your heart; the light of your eyes is my salvation, although at times my weakness shrinks from it. Be, Niederer, the guiding star of my house! May peace dwell in your soul and contentment in your mind! And so the fulness of your mind and heart will exercise a powerful and blessed influence on the work of my weakness.

"Krusi! May your goodness spread continually! It was you who founded the spirit of the establishment at the holy hour of its first beginnings, and you founded it on holiness and love. In the midst of children you have always yourself been as a child. By your side, under the influence of your power and love, the children of our institute, even in the first days of their arrival, miss neither father nor mother. You have satisfactorily answered the question: Can the teacher supply the place of father and mother? . . .

"You have laboured with Niederer as with a brother; you have had but one heart; each day strengthened the union between you. Promise me, with hand in hand, to remain united! You are the first and oldest of my helpers, the only ones that have remained faithful. I do not always agree with you in everything, but my soul is attached to you; without your united strength to support it, my establishment would no longer be the same, and its ruin would be speedy. . . .

"Dear friends! you have all been my consolation in my days of sadness. When I lost the heart of the man whom my soul loved as a father loves the soul of his child, when I was afflicted as with the loss of my right hand, when I thought I had no more strength for the work of my life, then you showed me that you believed in me, and you strengthened my belief in myself. I now thank you, for it is owing to many of you that I was enabled to surmount that hour of weakness. . . . .

"And I owe you gratitude, too, Schmidt, as does also my work. Fellow-workers, a large part of his marvellous power has passed into your hands, and it is you who continue to support the institute. Schmidt! my gratitude and love must never lessen. You have done me much good. My trust in your strength made me well-nigh forget the establishment, myself, and my one sacred aim. Now I shall no longer forget either house, self, or aim; but neither shall I forget you. You have done me good by your love, which made me happy, and by your departure, which made me sad. Schmidt, the least that I owe you is to respect your views, and gratefully endeavour to carry them out. They are in so many points similar to mine! How can I help respecting them? How can I turn aside from them? No, I will be true toy ou as to myself. No one understands you better than I, no one will do you more justice. May God grant you days of peaceful maturity, love and consideration for the lowly, and faith in God, whose strength is made manifest in the weak. It seems as though I must go in search of you, crying aloud to you to say where you are, so great is my longing to-day to see you as one of my own.

"Blessed hour! raise us above all that is terrestrial, all that is transitory! Father in heaven! lift us in every circumstance of our lives to that which is eternal and unchangeable, which we find but in Thee alone, and which we cannot reach save by living in Thee."

Thus Pestalozzi began the year 1811, which was still further to increase the apparent external prosperity of the institute, but without retarding the progress of its internal decay.

Polemics occupied most of the time and strength of Niederer; in answer to certain violent attacks, he had just published a pamphlet, entitled, *Pestalozzi's Educational Establishment Considered in its Relations to the Needs of our Time*. Pestalozzi refers to this pamphlet in a letter to Knusert, of the canton of Appenzell, who had been one of his pupils in 1801, one of his assistant masters in 1805, and who in 1807 had entered the French army as lieutenant, and was now, after serving in the Spanish war, at Barcelona. The letter is as follows:

"*Yverdun, April, 1811.*

"My dear Switzer!

"When you return, you will find many changes. The principal work continues to progress in a most satisfactory manner, but, like you in Spain, we have guerillas about us who are ever on the look out to strike us on our weak side. Some even slip in under our roof, and will eat and drink with us so long as we ask them to stay. There are also mighty lords of the Junta, who have not been satisfied merely to spy out our weaknesses, but who have taken their part in the firing at us. Fortunately, many of our enemies are bad marksmen; but their shooting, though wide of the mark, makes a great noise. Most of these shots are directed against the general of our engineers, your countryman; not he of Gais, but he of Wolfhalden.[1] But the general is a deuce of a fellow, who, whilst the enemy are firing at him from all sides, continues to cast cannon of the heaviest calibre, with gun-carriages that, like the tower of Babel, reach nearly to the skies. You will think I am speaking a strange language; but our circumstances are so peculiar that, as schoolmasters, we cannot express all we feel any more than you, in your position, can always say what you would.

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[1] *i.e.*, not Krusi, but Niederer.

"I am very well in health, thank God; and yet my strength is failing me. The good old times are gone by. I have an inexpressible longing for rest, even though it should be in the grave.

"Take care of yourself, my dear Knusert, and let us hear from you soon.

"Your friend, PESTALOZZI."

Since the installation of the institute at Yverdun there had been numerous and important changes in the teaching body.

Pestalozzi had lost many of the best of his former helpers: Tobler, Buss, Knusert, then Steiner, Muralt, Mieg, and Hoffmann. Most of these left him to make the principles of his method more widely known. Later on Schmidt had left, harbouring a bitter feeling of resentment against his colleagues, who would neither adopt his ideas, nor submit to his overbearing manner; on leaving, he had gone to Vienna, where he published a pamphlet against the institute, calling it "a disgrace to humanity." The establishment had also lost several other masters of less note.

Those who had left had been gradually replaced by a much larger number of teachers, many of whom were men of far higher attainments than their predecessors. Amongst the most distinguished were:

Ramsauer, whom we know already, and who had become an excellent master in arithmetic, elementary geometry, and especially drawing.

Göldi, from canton Saint Gallen, who, first a pupil of Pestalozzi, then an assistant-master, was zealous and earnest in his work, and taught mathematics with clearness and success; he had quite mastered the spirit of the method, and never gave it up. Later on, he became professor of mathematics and physics at the College of Saint Gallen; he also published a treatise on geometry.

Weilenmann, of Eglisau, canton Zurich, was a tall, strong man, but had lost one arm. He took charge of the elementary class, which was very numerous; and with his one hand, which often shook with fatigue, he set copies, ruled copy-books, and made and mended pens for all the children. He was everywhere and always with his pupils, not only in their games and walks, but in the dormitories, where he often sat up part of the night, and was always the first to rise. Everybody loved him. He attended to the little ones and to those who were ailing like a mother; in this respect, indeed, he was like Krusi. Those of his old pupils living to-day are still grateful for all the trouble this excellent man took for them.

Baumgartner was a handsome young man from canton Glarus, quick and intelligent, but gentle and modest; he had a decided talent for teaching beginners mathematics, knowing how to put things clearly and inspire a taste for the subject. He left Yverdun to join the institute founded by Hoffmann at Naples, where he died of fever very shortly after.

Leuenzinger, of Glarus, was a short, thick-set man, with a dark complexion and large head. His heavy body prevented him from joining in the games of the pupils. He had a remarkable taste for mathematics. His great happiness was to attack complicated problems, after solving which he would walk about the room rubbing his hands and talking to himself. He was full of rustic simplicity.

Amongst the masters who arrived after the departure of Schmidt, we must mention:

Schacht, of Brunswick, of gentlemanly bearing, and with a good influence on the character and conduct of the scholars. He had a fine face, sharp and full of animation, and talked well. He taught history, and captivated his hearers by his dramatic manner; he also lectured on chemistry. He afterwards returned to Brunswick, where he became a member of the Council of State and of the superior Council of Education. He also published a treatise on geography, according to the principles of Pestalozzi.

Blochmann, of Dresden, no less distinguished by his nobility of character than by his knowledge and talent for teaching. He came to Yverdun to know more of Pestalozzi. He only taught geography in the institute, but his influence was valuable in many ways, and he was liked by everybody. After leaving Yverdun he established an educational institute in Dresden, and became the king's trusted adviser in all educational matters.

Ackermann, a young Saxon, full of vivacity and zeal, and as eager to learn as to teach. He taught gymnastics, and was the constant companion of the children. He afterwards became headmaster of the model school at Frankfort-on-Main.

Lehmann had a scholarly knowledge of French and German; he taught the two languages. His heart was thoroughly in his work, but he was a little wanting, perhaps, in the firmness and practical skill that help to make a good master. Later on, he was employed in the public educational establishments at Berne; afterwards he and his wife, who was a talented woman, established at Basle a school for girls.

In the summer of 1811, a man came to Yverdun who was destined to exercise a large influence on the state of the institute for some time. This was Jullien, of Paris, a Knight of the Legion of Honour, a school-inspector, a member of several learned societies, and the author of *A General Essay on Physical, Moral, and Intellectual Education*, and *An Essay on the Employment of Time*, etc.

Jullien soon recognized the merit and importance of the practical educational reform that was taking place before his eyes, and he determined to make a thorough study of the doctrine of Pestalozzi and its various applications. Protracting his stay therefore at Yverdun, he held continual discussions with Pestalozzi and his coadjutors, and though much hampered by his own ignorance of German and the bad French of his interlocutors, persevered with admirable patience until he thought himself in possession of the requisite knowledge. The year after, he published, in the royal press at Milan, a pamphlet of some hundred pages, entitled, *A Sketch of the Educational Institute of Yverdun*, and two large octavo volumes on *The Spirit of Pestalozzi's Educational Method.*

By placing his sons with Pestalozzi, and by his own personal influence and that of his writings, Jullien was the cause of a large number of French pupils and some few French masters going to Yverdun, so that the institute was no longer so entirely German. We shall show, later on, how this affected the establishment.

The year 1811 seemed to Pestalozzi to have been a happier one; his discourse of January 1st, 1812, therefore, is full of joy and gratitude. We give the most characteristic portions:

"The year just ended has been a blessed one for us; it has brought me nearer the aim of my life. What matters, now, that it has been a hard one? The hours of trouble have passed, and there remains nothing but the strength they have developed in us. Dangers have disappeared as completely as if they had never existed; but the courage they have aroused remain, and its foundations are now more solid than ever.

"What we want to do, what we have to do, we can now do better than ever. The road we have been looking for lies open before us. Peace reigns in our paths; great obstacles have vanished, and we feel that the strength and means necessary for reaching our goal are slowly ripening. . . .

"Friends and brothers! Whilst I rejoice at the good fortune with which we have surmounted all dangers, I also look into the past, and think of all we might have done to make ourselves more worthy of this blessing, and to enjoy it with a purer and nobler satisfaction. . . .

"God has allowed our work to remain in our hands. He has blessed it and strengthened it; but the joy which we feel cannot be pure and complete unless we are conscious of having worked with fidelity, zeal, and a pure heart. . . .

"With what joy I thank God for having kept us faithful to the precious mission which unites us, for having increased your strength and zeal in the pursuit of our aim!"

Pestalozzi next addresses himself personally to his two oldest collaborators, Niederer and Krusi; to Weilenmann, Heussy, Baumgartner, Schneider and Leuenberger, who have already been with him for some years; to Schacht, Blochmann, Ackermann and Lehmann, who have joined him more recently; to the Prussian student-teachers, Kaverau, Henning, Dreist, Patzig, Krätz and Benschmidt; and lastly, to his daughter-in-law's second husband, Mr. Kuster, the steward and bursar of the institute. He then continues:

"Friends and brothers, do not forget that I am leaving you, and that you are to remain behind! What a great thing completion is! How glorious to approach the mark where the victor is crowned. I have not reached the mark, and my course is run. I can no longer strive towards it; all I could do I have done. I see that for me action is at an end, though the work in hand is not completed. Mankind, that I have loved so well, will, with grateful acknowledgment of my efforts, complete my task. But it will also see in you, friends and brothers, the first and worthiest labourers in this reform. You will therefore remain my sons, and not fail that posterity for which I have lived. It is this hope that consoles me, when I see that the work I have neither time nor strength to finish, rudely torn from my hands by the natural course of events, is really mine no longer. But it is still in God's hands. O friends, be true, and fail not!"

In the words which Pestalozzi now addresses to his wife, we find the confirmation of a fact hitherto unverified, namely, that the old man, after neglecting money matters all his life, nevertheless took certain necessary precautions to secure for his wife, and after her for his grandchild Gottlieb, a sum of money representing the increased value of the Neuhof estate, which was all that remained of the fortune she had brought him.

His words were as follows:

"I now address myself to you, faithful companion of my life! Do not take as indifference the calmness with which I regard my fate; it is God who gives it me. . . . The year just gone first brought me this peace, the present year will complete it. The past year has also been blessed for you, my dear and noble wife, for your health has been restored. God permits you, then, to see the end I have so nearly reached; joy shall still be yours, for you have deserved it! You have indeed suffered much for my sake in the times of struggle and preparation which have been so unduly prolonged in my life; you have greatly feared for the future of our grandson, compromised by my fault. But God, who fashions our lives, has witnessed your agony; His Fatherly hand has sent you an unexpected succour; our dear child is saved, so that, in this respect too, we may go down to the grave in peace. Our child will be your heir. As for me, I shall die poor, as I have always intended. To devote myself and my all to my work has been, as you know, my only desire. But God is good, dearest! May our faith in Him remain unshaken!"

After this, Pestalozzi addresses himself first to his own children, then to the young girls of the neighbouring institute, then to the directress, Mrs. Kuster, and her chief assistant, Miss Rosette Kasthoffer. He speaks to them all of his gratitude and trust, and to all utters words of encouragement. He finally concludes by invoking God's blessing upon everybody, including his absent friends, for the year which has just begun.

This year, 1812, begun under such happy auspices, was soon to bring Pestalozzi a fresh trial—a painful, serious and long illness.

One day, as he was walking up and down Mrs. Krusi's room, preoccupied and restless, as was his wont, having taken up a knitting-needle to scratch his ear, he suddenly knocked against the high earthenware stove with such force that the needle was driven into his head. According to the doctor who attended him, and who was amazed beyond measure that such an old man should recover from so severe an accident, the needle must have penetrated, not the tympanum, but the bony part of the ear.

His recovery, however, was very slow. For a long time he was confined to his bed, and suffered much pain. He could not bear the slightest noise, and for four months his life was despaired of. At times he thought he was dying, and seemed glad; at other times he would say, "I should like to live a little longer, for I have still much to do." His convalescence was long and painful. But the old man could not give up work, and even in the midst of his sufferings, and when parched by fever, he continued to dictate to one of his assistants, for he never ceased to occupy himself with the elaboration of his "method." When he was well enough to be placed on a sofa, he began to write a little himself; he also put into execution a project which had occupied his mind for some time past.

He considered the best means of teaching a foreign language to be that which Nature employs in teaching a child to speak its mother-tongue, that is to say, constant practice in the spoken language. It was thus that, with the addition of a little grammar, the Germans at Yverdun learned French, and the French German, with complete success. Pestalozzi thereupon asked himself if it would not be possible to employ similar means to teach a dead language, and he resolved to try the experiment. Every day some six or seven children who had not yet begun Latin, amongst them the writer of these lines, were brought to his couch.

Pestalozzi had with much care selected from *Cæsar's Commentaries* a number of short passages and isolated phrases, all bearing on the same subject, and nearly all containing the same words; with these selections he had, in his illegible hand, filled several sheets. As we stood by the couch, where he lay weak and suffering, he would give us a phrase, which we all had to repeat until we knew it by heart; he would then explain the different words, and point out some of the changes they undergo when it is required to modify the sense of the sentence. In this way the study of syntax and accidence went hand in hand. We were soon able to make certain changes for ourselves, and construct sentences of such elements as were known to us; that is to say, with a very limited vocabulary, and a very narrow range of subjects, we spoke Latin like Cæsar!

These lessons were continued during the whole period of the old man's convalescence, but after that they were dropped. We have never been able to ascertain whether Pestalozzi gave them up because he was not satisfied with the success of the experiment, or merely because he was carried away by new ideas.

At the beginning of 1813, Niederer married Miss Kasthoffer, and Pestalozzi made over to them the girls' school, which had been originally established in a large house near the Castle, where it remained for the next twenty-five years. Mrs. Kuster thus saw herself supplanted by her head-assistant, to whom she resigned her position without the least complaint. The establishment certainly profited by the change, and, owing to the unusual capacity of Mrs. Niederer, enjoyed a very long period of prosperity.

The finances of the institute were at this time in a very unsatisfactory condition. Since 1810 the number of the pupils had been falling off, but that of the masters steadily increasing. Young men came from far and near to learn the method, and on the understanding that they would afterwards do their best to spread it, were admitted by Pestalozzi for nothing. The old man's credulity in this respect was unbounded. He refused nobody, and received all sorts of unfit persons into the institute, sometimes even deliberately dishonest people, who, after staying a few months, made off, leaving debts behind them which Pestalozzi felt it his duty to pay. The mode of life was simple, it is true, and the faithful Lisbeth Krusi did her best as housekeeper; but in her desire that there should be no stint, she fell into the opposite extreme, with the result that there was much waste. The printing press, too, cost a great deal of money, especially now that the polemical publications were so frequent. The effect of all this was already making itself felt, as we have said, though the final financial disaster did not come till afterwards.

After the departure of Schmidt, Ramsauer became Pestalozzi's favourite, and did for the practical application of the "method" very much what Niederer did for the theory. It is to be regretted that at this time Ramsauer could not, or would not, take in hand the administration of the finances of the establishment; had he done so, he might perhaps have saved the institute. But he confined his activity to his relations with the pupils, and to the improvement of the system of instruction in the elementary branches.

Mechanical and perspective drawing, in which he excelled, were his favourite subjects; it is to him that we owe the rational and graduated course which made it possible to introduce that particular branch of teaching into the primary schools. Very often foreigners, who were passing through the country, would beg for a collection of his models to take home to their respective countries, and thus his practical method spread in all directions. It was almost the same collection as that afterwards published in Paris by Boniface and Rivail.

Ramsauer's own account of his relations with Pestalozzi is as follows:

"It was not at all rare in summer to see foreigners at the Castle four or five times a day, who interrupted our lessons, and expected us to explain our method. During the years 1812, 1813, and 1814, in addition to my ordinary occupations, I so often had to give the necessary explanations in a very loud voice, that my chest suffered. When, at last, I was quite ill, Pestalozzi reproached himself with being the cause; he knew he had worked me too much, and was anxious to nurse me himself, as a father would nurse his child. But he was more incapable and awkward than I could have believed possible if I had not seen him.

"The hardest time I spent with Pestalozzi was from 1812 to 1815, when I so often had to write in his room from two to six in the morning. Even when I retired to bed as late as eleven or twelve, I was expected to be at his bedside by two. If I was a few minutes late, he would impatiently jump out of bed, both winter and summer, and with very little clothing on, cross the courtyard, and, going through the boys' dormitories, call me in a way that was not always polite. But when I was punctual, or even when I made my appearance after being called, he would express his approval by embracing me, and then get back into bed and begin his dictation. But it was very difficult to write down what he said, for he not only spoke very indistinctly (he always had the end of the sheet in his mouth), but generally changed the form of his sentences two or three times. . . . When Pestalozzi was talking, people were often obliged to guess at what he meant from the expression of his face, his speech being so much slower than his thought. In the same way his secretary often had to guess at his words from the tone of his voice. My task then, if interesting, was difficult, and I sometimes felt a certain pity for the old man, though without losing any of my love and respect. . . .

"During the years 1812, 1813, and 1814, the period when Pestalozzi's friendliness and confidence in me were most marked, he used to send for me every day after dinner to take coffee or liqueur in Mrs. Pestalozzi's room, or in that of his faithful housekeeper, Mrs. Krusi. On those occasions he was generally very gay and full of wit; and his wit was often brilliant, for whatever he did, he did thoroughly, giving himself up entirely to the feelings of the moment. In the same half-hour he would be extremely happy and extremely miserable, gentle and caressing or serious and severe; he did nothing without enthusiasm. . . .

"But, happily or unhappily, he soon forgot; and so there is little sequence in the history of his life. Nor did he profit much by his experiences. Even in our study of pedagogics, he would not allow us to make use of the experience of other times or other countries; we were to read nothing, but discover everything for ourselves. Hence the whole strength of the institute was always devoted to experiment. The fact remains, however, that whatever we learned in that way, with so much trouble and toil, we learned well, and the trouble was soon forgotten in the pleasure and confidence that resulted from such well-grounded knowledge.

"Often when the masters had done something to displease him, Pestalozzi would fly into a passion, and angrily leave the room, slamming the door as if he would break it. But if at that moment he happened to meet a young pupil, he would instantly grow calm, and, after kissing the boy, return to the room, exclaiming, 'I beg your pardon! Forgive my violence! I was mad.'"[1]

We must here say a word about the letter to Mr. Delbruck, which Pestalozzi published towards the end of April, 1813. Mr. Delbruck, who was tutor to the Prince Royal of Prussia, had been sent by the king to Yverdun, and had spent some considerable time in the institute, studying the work and doctrine of the master, whom he soon learned to love and admire. After his return to Berlin, he had written to Pestalozzi advising him to abandon polemics, and leave all the attacks on the institute unanswered.

Pestalozzi, in a long letter, endeavours to show that an educational institute cannot be silent when it is accused of corrupting youth both in religion and politics; he also tries to excuse Niederer, who had been blamed for the violence of his language. He then continues, with characteristic outspokenness:

"The remembrance of the past weighs heavy on my heart; my explanations do not satisfy me. I almost hate my own words as I write them. When a man is struggling with people with no nobleness of heart, he is almost sure to lose some of the nobleness of his own heart. This is a very sad thought to me. I would give up some of the days I have still to live to blot out this portion of my life."

The end of this letter shows that the old man has again relapsed into the illusions which he himself had once recognized as such. He thinks that by the unceasing labour of himself and his coadjutors, the institute will soon be in such a state that the application of his method to all branches of instruction will at last be possible.

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[1] *A Short Sketch of my Pedagogical Life*, by J. Ramsauer. Oldenburg, 1838.

It was this same year, 1813, that witnessed all the consequences of Napoleon the First's disastrous Russian campaign.

The Germans, seeing a favourable opportunity for delivering their country from the foreign power that had heaped so many misfortunes and humiliations upon them, eagerly prepared to fight. It was impossible that the young men of German origin who were with Pestalozzi at this time should remain untouched by this enthusiasm, and numbers of them went and took up arms "for the deliverance of Germany." The Prussian pupils, who had indeed just completed their studies, all went away too, some of the masters, amongst whom were Schacht and Ackermann, following their example.

Pestalozzi entirely commended them, and made no effort to restrain them; they had indeed his best wishes for the success of their patriotic enterprise. He considered that the enormous power Napoleon exercised in Europe was an obstacle to that part of his work which consisted in raising the people by education. We have seen that in 1803 Bonaparte had refused to listen to Pestalozzi, and rejected his proposals, saying that he could not mix himself up with questions of A B C; afterwards, however, he saw that the work of the Swiss philanthropist went far beyond the A B C, and that its aim was to put the freedom and development of the individual in the place of the mechanical routine of the old schools, which did little more than produce a mass of dull uniformity. With this aim Napoleon was entirely out of sympathy, and whenever the subject was mentioned, would say, "The Pestalozzians are Jesuits."

For this reason, if for no other, Pestalozzi rejoiced at the success of the allied sovereigns, whose coalition was to liberate Europe.

Opinions were divided, however, in Switzerland on this point; but as the Swiss were not in a position to maintain their neutrality, the Austrian troops passed through the country to enter France by the frontier of the Jura.

On Christmas day, 1813, a regiment of Esterhazy's Hungarian hussars arrived at Yverdun, and were soon followed by a large number of Croatian infantry.

On the 9th of January, 1814, the municipality received orders from the Austrian Commissary at Pontarlier, to prepare a military hospital at Yverdun, and, a few days after, two delegates arrived to choose the locality, and make, at the town's expense, all the necessary preparations. They appropriated four blocks of buildings: the castle of Yverdun with two hundred and seventy beds, the old barn opposite (now a casino) with two hundred beds, the bath-house of Yverdun with ninety-four beds, and the castle of Grandson with one hundred and sixteen beds. The municipality immediately informed the cantonal Government, and urged it to help them deliver the commune from the danger which threatened it. The Petty Council only returned answer that they should consider all expenses necessitated by a military hospital as a cantonal charge, and that they would enforce the payment by the State. Nevertheless the population of Yverdun were much frightened, for the Austrian troops, encumbered with sick and wounded, were seriously ravaged by typhus. The municipality accordingly appointed two delegates to go to the head-quarters of the allied armies and ask for a revocation of these orders. Pestalozzi, the very existence of whose establishment was seriously threatened, accompanied the municipal delegates, and it was this which saved the town.

It is quite certain that the representatives of the town of Yverdun had but little idea of Pestalozzi's real merit. They must have felt very little honoured by this fellow-traveller, who in the eyes of the vulgar was but an eccentric old man, shabbily dressed, and careless of his person. But their surprise was great when, on arriving at Basle, they witnessed his reception by the allied sovereigns. On the 21st of January they returned to Yverdun, and the day after, announced to the municipality that "their mission had had perfect success, that no military hospital would be established at Yverdun, and that Mr. Pestalozzi had been received with most extraordinary favour."

And yet the old man had not been less eccentric at the head-quarters at Basle than anywhere else. He no sooner found himself in the presence of the Emperor of Russia and his officers, than, thinking it a good opportunity to preach educational reform and the liberation of the serfs, he became so enthusiastic and so ardent that he completely forgot his position, and approached so near the emperor, that the latter was obliged to retreat. It was not till he had forced him nearly to the wall, and was in the act of taking him by the button of his coat, that Pestalozzi suddenly became aware of his indiscretion. Muttering an apology, he then sought to kiss the Czar's hand, but Alexander cordially embraced him.

Notwithstanding his eccentricity, Pestalozzi's words produced a great effect, and those about the emperor thought at one time that he contemplated putting the Swiss philanthropist's views into execution.

But, alas! the Muscovite serfs had to wait another fifty years for their emancipation, and the Russian people, though proud of their civilization, are still waiting for good schools. But in this respect they do not stand alone.

The Czar decorated Pestalozzi with the cross of Saint Vladimir of the third class, and sent him a collection of minerals from the Oural for his school. The Emperor of Austria also sent him a case of Tokay wine.

Thus this poor old man, the weakest and awkwardest of mankind, and the most unattractive in appearance, was able to excite the attention and sympathy of princes at a moment even when they were intoxicated with success and glory. For the honour of humanity, this triumph was won by his moral beauty,—a consoling thought, which enables us to forget many a wrong.

Of the four blocks of buildings chosen for military hospitals, the castle of Grandson alone was used. The typhus, however, broke out in the village of that name, which is not far from Yverdun, and was not stamped out of the neighbourhood for several years. Nor did the town of Yverdun escape; indeed one of Pestalozzi's own pupils took the disease, though not very seriously. It may not be amiss to mention here that since the foundation of his establishment Pestalozzi had never lost a single pupil by death.

During that same year the King of Prussia paid a visit to his principality of Neuchâtel, which had just been restored to him, and where he was received with almost unanimous joy. While he was there, Pestalozzi, although very ill, insisted on going to thank him for having sent him so many student-teachers to train, and did not forget to remind him of the importance of the work these young men were about to undertake in Prussia. Ramsauer, who accompanied him, makes the following reference to the occasion:

"During the journey Pestalozzi had several fainting fits, so that I was obliged to take him from the carriage and carry him into a neighbouring house. I constantly urged him to return home. 'Hold your tongue!' he said; 'I must see the king, even though it should cost me my life. If I can bring about a better education for a single Prussian child, I shall be fully rewarded.'"

Peace brought a new period of external prosperity to the establishment at Yverdun; pupils, young assistants, and visitors flocked there in numbers and from all countries, France and England at length following the example already set by Germany. But this great concourse of people of all languages was equally fatal to the internal arrangements of the establishment and to its financial position. Ramsauer gives the following account of one of those frequent visits about which Pestalozzi became so excited, but which threw the lessons into such confusion:

"In 1814, old Prince Esterhazy arrived. Pestalozzi at once ran all over the Castle, crying, 'Ramsauer, Ramsauer! where are you? Take your best pupils (for gymnastics, drawing, arithmetic, and geometry) and come quickly to the Red House (the hotel where the prince was staying). He is a very important personage, and immensely rich; he owns thousands of serfs in Hungary and Austria, and it is quite certain that he will establish schools and liberate his peasantry as soon as he understands our system, etc.'

"I accordingly took some fifteen of the pupils to the hotel, where Pestalozzi presented me to the prince, saying:

"'This is the master of these pupils; he came to my house about fifteen years ago with other poor children from the canton of Appenzell, and has been brought up without restraint, and by the free development of his own powers; now he is himself a teacher, and you will see in him a proof that the poor are just as capable as the rich, if not more so, provided only that their intellect be methodically developed, which however is rarely the case. Hence it is of the greatest importance to improve our popular schools; but he will explain everything to you better than I could myself.'

"Pestalozzi then left us, and I set to work questioning, explaining, and bawling, with an energy which made me very hot and tired, never doubting for a moment that the prince was perfectly convinced. On Pestalozzi's return at the end of an hour, the prince expressed his satisfaction, and we took our leave. Going downstairs, Pestalozzi said, 'He is quite convinced, thoroughly convinced; he will certainly set up some schools in Hungary.' At the bottom of the stairs Pestalozzi suddenly cried out, 'Why, what is the matter with my arm? Look, how swollen it is; and it is so stiff that I cannot bend it.' And as a matter of fact the large sleeve of his coat looked almost too tight. I immediately noticed that the great house-key was bent in the lock, and we concluded that on coming in an hour before he must have knocked his elbow against the key and bent it. And yet, so ardent was the flame that burned within him, even at seventy years of age, when his mind was bent on doing good, that during that hour the old man had felt no pain. I may add that I could give many more instances of the same sort of thing."

We have now arrived at a time when there were almost as many French as Germans in the institute.

The consequence of this was that a master was often obliged to make his observations in both languages; very often, too, a pupil could not be placed in the class which would have suited him best, on account of his not understanding the language in which it was conducted.

The pupils who came from French schools, having been accustomed to an almost military discipline, were inclined to take advantage of the liberty they enjoyed at Yverdun; accustomed, too, to look upon the masters as natural enemies, with whom they must necessarily be at war, they took pleasure in playing all sorts of tricks upon them. Furthermore, having been deprived suddenly of the only stimulus they had hitherto known, the stimulus of self-love, they were little disposed to study, where there was neither reward to hope for nor punishment to fear. At the same time the rustic simplicity of life in the institute filled them with repugnance and contempt. Much less than this would have sufficed to promote indiscipline and confusion in the establishment, so that the result may be imagined.

Jullien had undertaken to obtain some French masters for the institute, but among those he sent there, only one was really a capable man and fit to collaborate with Pestalozzi. This was Alexander Boniface, the author of one of the best French grammars.

"Amongst all the men of note," said Jullien, "I only found Boniface who was willing to give up Paris for toil and moil at Yverdun."

Of a cheerful and lively disposition, Boniface was a true child of Paris, but he was, at the same time, kind and simple of heart, and soon learned to love and admire Pestalozzi. He became the centre of the French side of the institute, and exercised a most salutary influence. By his uniform kindness to the children he won their love, and, in spite of his not very imposing presence, their entire respect. He was small and exceedingly short-sighted, and generally wore red or green slippers, which was thought at Yverdun to be an extraordinary eccentricity. To a good knowledge of classics he joined a cultivated taste, and gave excellent lessons in grammar and French literature, in which the scholars took great interest. On his return to Paris he founded a higher school on Pestalozzi's principles. When in 1829 Mr. de Vatisménil appointed a Commission to inquire into the methods employed in private schools in Paris, the commissioners, after a very conscientious examination, made a report to the minister, in which they declared the method employed by Mr. Boniface to be superior to all the others they had examined. (Pompée, p. 269.)

At this time, unfortunately, the assistant masters were not all like Boniface; they were not all zealous and diligent in their work, and often, in the absence of any complete control, did very much as they liked. The devotion of the good teachers was powerless against all the elements of disorder which had crept into the institute, and none of them could make up for the administrative weakness of its head. Concurrently with this, the financial position grew more and more unsatisfactory, and the various causes of ruin already referred to were increased by the great extension that peace had given to the establishment.

In this state of things Schmidt was thought of as the only man capable of governing with a strong hand. Niederer, his old antagonist, was the first to advise Pestalozzi to recall him, and even undertook to go and urge him to return himself.

Schmidt was now the director of the public school of Bregenz, an establishment which his talents and energy had brought into a state of great prosperity. It was there that Niederer sought him out, and succeeded in inducing him to return to Yverdun. Niederer had never denied Schmidt's great capacity, and at that time still had perfect confidence in his character. We may judge of this from the following passage of a letter written a few days after this interview:

"Rely entirely on Pestalozzi's love; he has never ceased to look on you as a son. Besides the strength which makes you valuable, and which is the gift of Nature, you have still greater gifts, for you are a true man, and your will is set on good. This last is the gift of a man to himself, and is what makes you worthy of our respect."

Schmidt returned to Yverdun at Easter, 1815, and Pestalozzi, receiving him as a son who was sacrificing himself for his father, made vows of eternal gratitude.

On his arrival, Schmidt at once quietly set about the necessary reforms, working almost incessantly day and night. He dismissed useless teachers, reduced the salary of others, stopped waste, and restored order and regularity in the lessons as well as discipline among the pupils. All Pestalozzi's right-minded coadjutors willingly gave him their aid in these much-needed reforms.

But Schmidt wanted to be master, to wield, that is, the sole authority in the name of Pestalozzi. Taking advantage of what had been told him of his usefulness, he went straight to his end with an acuteness, ability, perseverance, and calm energy that never forsook him. Under a mask of respect and affection, he submitted his proposals to the old man as the only conditions of safety, conditions without which he could answer for nothing. At the same time he succeeded in winning the women of the establishment to his side: Mrs. Pestalozzi, because she was tired of the philosophy of Niederer, and found him incapable of protecting her husband's financial position; Mrs. Kuster, to whom it had been pointed out, after the event, that Mrs. Niederer had behaved very badly to her in taking her place as directress of the girls' school; and, lastly, the faithful housekeeper, Lisbeth Krusi herself, who looked on Schmidt as the only man capable of restoring order and economy in domestic matters. Schmidt, indeed, had this merit, that he was satisfied with little, and was continually preaching plain living. We shall soon see, however, that Mrs. Krusi had cause to repent of the preference she had given him.

In this same year, 1815, Pestalozzi published at Yverdun a book which he had written the previous year, entitled: *A Word in Season to the Innocent, Serious, and Noble-Minded Ones of My Country.*

If it is chiefly to Switzerland that the author addresses his remarks, it is not to her alone, but also to the whole of Europe, which, set free by Napoleon's fall, is about to enter on a new era, an era it may be of virile and moral renovation, ensuring peace both at home and abroad, or it may be of weakness, vanity, and selfishness, such as has already ended in revolution, licence, and despotism. The nations of Europe are corrupted by a sensual civilization, which does but stimulate their appetites and their vanity, making those who suffer envious of those who enjoy, and those who enjoy insensible to the troubles of those who suffer. There is none of that real moral civilization which exalts a man and makes him capable of love, commiseration, and abnegation. The first step to this higher civilization is the reform of public education.

We have endeavoured to give in a few words some idea of the subject treated by Pestalozzi; but what we have just said can convey but a faint idea of the many precious truths and valuable and original ideas to be found in this new work, which is as it were a continuation of that which the author had written some years previously: *An Inquiry into the Course of Nature in the Development of the Human Race.* But the second work is more matured, more clearly written, and more practical. It is now fifty-seven years since it was first published and yet it has lost none of its appropriateness. Europe would still do well to think over this advice, and act on it.

About this time there arrived at Yverdun the celebrated Doctor Bell, the founder of the system of mutual instruction in England. His visit to the far-famed institute had a double motive. He came partly to see Pestalozzi, this man whose reputation as the inventor and propagator of a new method of education rivalled his own, partly in the hope of discovering some further improvement for his own system. Bell understood neither French nor German, but he found an interpreter in the establishment whom he knew already. This was Ackermann, the Saxon, a teacher of some merit, who had left Pestalozzi in 1813 to fight for the liberation of Germany, and who, before returning to Yverdun, had spent some time in England visiting Bell's schools and examining his method.

During his visit to Yverdun, Bell, after watching the lessons in the different classes, gave, with the help of some teachers and under-teachers, a sort of representation of his own method; there was, moreover, a conference, in which Pestalozzi and the Doctor summed up, with Ackermann's help, their chief objections to each other's system. But, whatever the merits and defects of the rival systems may have been, the Englishman certainly possessed one talent that the Swiss was without; for whereas the latter by his educational labours had ruined himself, the former had amassed a fortune of £2,000 a year. On leaving Yverdun, Bell, in company with Ackermann and Jullien, went to Freiburg, to visit the schools of Father Girard, who, with true pedagogical tact and elevated moral views, had applied to his own system all that was really good in the method of Bell and Lancaster. On taking leave of Ackermann, Bell said: "In another twelve years mutual instruction will be adopted by the whole world, and Pestalozzi's method will be forgotten."

A few days afterwards, one of those inquisitive and ignorant people whom fashion alone induced to visit Pestalozzi, was presented to him, and accosted the old man with: "It is you, sir, I believe, who invented mutual instruction?" "God forbid," replied Pestalozzi. And yet seventeen years before, at Stanz, he had already in his own way made use of the system.

Early in December, 1815, Mrs. Pestalozzi fell ill; her strength was gone. Without suffering and with admirable tranquillity, the good and kind old woman, now in her seventy-ninth year, felt her life slowly ebbing away. She died on the evening of the 12th, as she lay upon her couch. She was still lying there when Pestalozzi's particular friends, anxious to share his sorrow, hastened to his side.

Her obsequies took place on the 16th. The first thing in the morning the coffin was placed in the chapel. The whole of the household had assembled there, and were singing a funeral hymn, when the unhappy old man entered. As soon as the singing had ceased, he approached the coffin, and, addressing himself to his faithful companion as if she could still hear him, passed in review their forty-five years of companionship, so full of labours, trials, and disasters, dwelling particularly on the many sacrifices she had made and the many sufferings she had endured for him and through his fault. After speaking of the time when, "forsaken and scoffed at by everybody, and weighed down by misery and disease," they had eaten their "dry bread with bitter tears," he added: "What, in those days of affliction, gave us the strength to bear our troubles and recover hope?" and, seizing a Bible which was near him, he drew still nearer the body, crying: "This is the source whence you drew, whence we both drew, courage, strength, and peace!"

The coffin was then closed, and carried, followed by all the household and a large concourse of the inhabitants of Yverdun, to the farthest end of the garden, where, in accordance with Mrs. Pestalozzi's express desire, a grave had been dug between two walnut trees. At the tomb there was singing by the boys and girls, and a prayer by Niederer, who also preached the sermon on their return to the chapel. The ceremony ended with Klopstock's beautiful hymn: *The Song of Triumph of Christian Hope.*

Pestalozzi's grief was profound; for a long time he would go stealthily out at night, when all were asleep, and pray and weep under the walnut trees, on the marble slab engraved with his wife's name, and the dates of her birth and death.[1] And he had reason to lament her who so long had been his support, his adviser, and his good angel; for now that she was gone, he was to be buffeted by the winds of adversity, like a ship without a rudder.

Pestalozzi, however, was strangely impressionable, and when once possessed by his favourite idea of elevating the lower classes, he forgot everything else. Some short time after the death of his wife, one of his old pupils, deeply moved by his loss, came to see him. After a few words on the painful subject of the visit, the old man began to speak of his new plans and new hopes for his success of his method, and before long, carried away by his illusions and enthusiasm, he cried excitedly: "I am swimming in a sea of joy!"

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[1] The remains of Mrs Pestalozzi now lie in the cemetery of Yverdun.

The year 1816 opened very sadly for Pestalozzi, and it was destined to be a disastrous one. The old man looked upon Schmidt more and more as his only means of salvation, and was prepared to sacrifice everything to keep him, but as he could only keep him by allowing him to have his own way, he ceased any longer to have a will of his own.

From this time, Schmidt, certain of his power, cared little how he acted. He suppressed the meetings of the masters, and gave his own orders in Pestalozzi's name. He was a tall man, rather slim, but strong and sinewy; his dark face, with its eagle eyes, had an expression of impassible severity; he was feared no less than Pestalozzi was beloved, and yet he exercised considerable influence over many of the scholars. He moved about the house with a high head and a proud gait, as if to impress upon everybody that he was the master.

To show the progress he had made since his arrival at Yverdun, we may mention an incident which occurred in 1805, and which was told us by an eye-witness. In those days, Schmidt was very careless of his appearance, and amongst other things wore a cap which was no longer presentable. One day, during a lesson that he was giving to the children, de Muralt entered the class, and seeing the dirty cap on a form, threw it out of the window into the

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The grave is on the left as you enter the cemetery. The following inscription has been added to the first:

The Worthy Wife
of
Pestalozzi,
The friend of the poor,
The benefactor of the people,
The reformer of education.
His close partner for forty-six years in his work
of self-sacrifice, she has left behind her a
blessed and venerated memory.

On the 11th of August, 1866, her mortal remains, which had been resting in the garden of the Castle, were religiously removed to this place by the municipality of Yverdun.

river which ran under the walls of the Castle. The pupils all laughed, but Schmidt did not take the least offence.

The man's overbearing manners, however, made it impossible for the old friends of Pestalozzi to remain in the institute. Ramsauer left him in the early spring of 1816. For a long time he had refused the most brilliant offers rather than leave his benefactor, and it was only after having been completely thrust aside by Schmidt that he decided to accept one of three proposals that had just been made to him.

The coadjutors formed by Pestalozzi were, in general, as disinterested as himself, and had as little idea of the value of money, often refusing very good offers for the sake of retaining their modest and laborious positions, save when the master himself, with a view to spreading his method of education, encouraged them to leave.

Pestalozzi had always clung to the hope of founding a new school for the poor, and had relied upon Ramsauer to direct it; indeed, ever since 1807, he had made him learn several handicrafts for that very purpose. But, strangely enough, this poor, neglected child, who had been so carefully trained to educate other poor children, was finally to become the tutor of the princes and princesses of Oldenburg.

One of the heaviest losses Pestalozzi had to endure was that of his faithful housekeeper, Lisbeth Krusi, the woman to whom he owed so much. Schmidt was anxious to effect certain reforms in the housekeeping, which were no doubt necessary, and which old Lisbeth was probably incapable of carrying out. But, at any price, some quiet and comfortable position in the house ought to have been found for her. It would appear that nothing of the sort was done, for she insisted on leaving. She had lost her husband many years before, and had an only son, who was an idiot. Thus this heroic woman, who had saved Pestalozzi and his family at Neuhof, and who had served as a type for the character of Gertrude, went away from Yverdun with her child, and ended her days in the poor-house of her husband's parish, at Gais.

Under the new housekeeper, Miss Ray, of Grandson, the living became somewhat less coarse and a little more varied, the soup and fruit being replaced at times by coffee, chocolate, and other delicacies. At the same time anything like prodigality was carefully avoided. But for all this, alas! the financial position was none the better.

Towards the end of 1816, the German masters in the institute resolved to celebrate the triumph of German independence. On the 18th of October, after dinner, they marched to the hill called "The Duke of Burgundy," where, according to tradition, Charles the Bold had fixed his tent and camp during the battle of Grandson. There they lighted a large fire, sang German hymns, and drank wine, remaining until night-fall.

Pestalozzi, who was one of the party, was full of spirits and mirth, but what he celebrated was not the triumph of one nation over another, but the despot Napoleon's fall that had set so many nations free. Ackermann, to whom we owe the details of this little episode, tells us that at that time the remains of the outer walls of the camp were still to be seen, and that he himself climbed to the top of the ruins and proposed a toast "To the liberty of the whole human race," to which about thirty people drank with a triple round of hurrahs.

In a very short time it was the German masters who could no longer bear Schmidt's supremacy; they felt that he was perverting the spirit of Pestalozzi's institution and injuring his reputation. They therefore resolved to lay their complaints and fears before Pestalozzi in a joint letter, which was drawn up by Blochmann, and signed by sixteen masters, under-masters, and student-teachers.

Those who had signed the letter were one evening summoned to the old man's bedside. Schmidt was already there, and proceeded to read his written defence, after which, as the complainants were neither satisfied nor reassured, Pestalozzi declared that he would rather see them all go than restrict in any way the power of the only man who was capable of saving him. A most painful scene then occurred, the old man at one moment deploring the decay of his institute and asking for everybody's support, at another, seizing Schmidt's hand and calling him his saviour and guardian angel. But as Schmidt remained inflexible, it was impossible to come to an understanding, and in the following spring all the Germans left Yverdun.

Later on Blochmann acknowledged, in a really Christian spirit, that wounded pride had something to do with the determination taken by his colleagues and himself, and that their clear duty was to remain and suffer.

Certain children of the neighbourhood, of families in needy circumstances, that is, had formerly been received gratuitously into Pestalozzi's establishment, where they had in time become under-masters. These men, with a few new-comers, now did their best to replace the masters who had left; the teaching, however, suffered considerably. Niederer and Krusi were almost the only good masters that remained with Schmidt, but soon even their position became almost unbearable. Krusi, simple-minded and modest, gentle and affectionate, groaned in secret, but suffered everything without complaining. Niederer, on the other hand, could not submit to this new state of things, and was continually at strife with Schmidt, the animosity between them becoming more and more violent every day.

Meanwhile the financial position of the institute was going from bad to worse. At the pressing solicitation of Jullien, some experienced and honourable merchants of the town had consented to come once a week to examine the books and accounts; but their obliging intervention could only confirm the existence of the evil, not cure it. In that year of rain and floods, there was a dearth in the country, and food had risen considerably in price. Pestalozzi decided therefore to raise the school-fees; but even then he could not meet the increased expenditure, although the number of his pupils was rapidly falling off.

It was at this juncture that Schmidt conceived the idea of publishing, by subscription, a new edition of Pestalozzi's works, as a means of raising the money of which the institute stood so much in need. To this scheme he easily induced the old man to consent.

We must here point out that the views of Schmidt and Pestalozzi as to the destination of the funds to be yielded by the subscription were not quite the same.

Schmidt wanted money to repair the finances of the institute and secure its position, not only in the immediate future, but even after Pestalozzi's death. The latter, on the other hand, looked forward chiefly to at last finding himself in a position to found and establish on a proper basis that school for the poor which had been the dream of his whole life, a desire with which Schmidt had little or no sympathy. As our history proceeds, this divergence of views will stand out more and more clearly.

In the month of March, 1817, Pestalozzi issued an appeal asking for subscribers to the complete edition of his works. In this appeal he sets forth his position in a very touching manner. After a long life of toil and sacrifice, he is in danger of seeing the fruit of his labours lost for humanity; he has undertaken much beyond his strength, but he now intends to turn his experience to the profit of the one aim of his life, the raising of the people. At the same time he speaks of his institute as of a work which no longer belongs to him, but which ought to last in the interests of humanity. Thus the destination of the proceeds of the subscription is left so vague as to admit of all sorts of interpretations. But everything concerning the conditions of sale and collection of subscriptions is settled in a most business-like manner, and all friends, schools, and governments are entreated in the most pressing terms to subscribe and find subscribers.

Niederer and Krusi refused to recognize the author of this appeal in the noble Pestalozzi; they felt that it was Schmidt's work, and that the old man could not put his name to it without dishonour. But their opposition was in vain, and the appeal was published. It was then that they resolved to leave their benefactor, him whom they called their father,[1] and the old man was left alone with the master he had chosen. From that day the ruin of the institute was complete.

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[1] Krusi had imperative reasons for leaving the institute, for he had been married some years previously, and his modest emoluments did not suffice to keep his family. He now set up a boarding-school at Yverdun for a living.

CHAPTER XV.

DEATH-AGONY OF THE INSTITUTE.

Despair of Pestalozzi on seeing himself forsaken by Niederer and Krusi. He goes away ill to the Jura Mountains. Negotiations with Fellenberg for securing quiet independence for Pestalozzi fall through. Success of the subscription for Pestalozzi's works. His discourse of the 12*th of January,* 1818. *Foundation of a pauper-school at Clendy. Its success. It is soon made part of the institute at the Castle. Gottlieb Pestalozzi returns to Yverdun and marries Schmidt's sister. Pestalozzi quarrels with the Yverdun municipality. He and Schmidt at law with Niederer. The Vaudese Government intervenes, and brings about a settlement. "Views on industry, education, and politics, in connection with the state of our country before and after the Revolution," by Pestalozzi. Fall of the institute. Schmidt expelled from the canton by the Government. Pestalozzi goes with him.*

We must give this title to that long period of seven years, during which Pestalozzi's institute still existed at the castle of Yverdun, although little more than the shadow of what it had been.

Henceforth Pestalozzi is entirely in Schmidt's hands, whom he regards not merely as a son who has sacrificed all to come to the aid of his father, and to whom he owes eternal gratitude, but as a saviour, who is alone capable of sustaining him, and whose daily support has become indispensable. He thus thinks himself compelled to do everything to please him, espouses all his quarrels, and, at his bidding, repels all his own old friends, and even refuses to take the hands stretched out to save him.

These unhappy years were further troubled by disputes and law-suits. Niederer and Schmidt first attacked one another in pamphlets and newspapers, and then brought actions for calumny, in which, unfortunately, since he accepted the responsibility of all Schmidt's actions, Pestalozzi himself had to appear. The unfortunate controversy produced an impression on the public mind that was unfavourable even to Niederer, and far more so to Schmidt. Some biographers have even gone so far as to credit certain unproved statements about them, which we, however, believe to be slanders, and will not repeat, preferring to confine ourselves to authenticated facts. These two colleagues of Pestalozzi were associated with his work too long, and rendered the cause of education too many services, for us to remember errors committed under the influence of passion.

Whilst Pestalozzi thus seemed to follow Schmidt blindly, and showed himself more than ever incapable of the administration and direction of a large institute, his genius for philosophical investigation, and his enthusiastic devotion to the cause of the poor and weak of this world were as great as ever.

In this latter respect his views were not in harmony with Schmidt's, and in this one point he never ceased to struggle with the man who, in other matters, was his absolute master, often, as we shall see, coming off victorious. We shall see him steadily working at the development and improvement of his doctrine, deluding himself with the illusions of a young man, zealously reorganizing and planning new foundations, and, at the very moment when all that remained of his practical work was about to crumble under his feet, opening and successfully conducting a new school for the poor.

For the sake of characterizing the period which is the subject of this chapter, we have been obliged to anticipate somewhat; we must now take up the thread of events.

After the departure of Blochmann and his German colleagues in 1816, a few good masters still remained with Schmidt, Niederer, and Krusi. Among the number were Boniface, who is already known to us; Stern, who taught Latin and Greek well, and who afterwards became the director of the Gymnasium at Stuttgart; Knusert, who had left the French army in 1814, after the peace, and had resumed his duties in Pestalozzi's establishment, where, amongst other things, he looked after the military drill; and Hagnauer, a talented young Swiss, who was subsequently appointed to the cantonal school of Aarau.

We have said that the masters who had left had been replaced by young men who were not always very highly qualified; we must, however, make an exception in favour of one particularly able teacher, who at this critical period proved to be of very great help to Pestalozzi. This was Lange, a man of good education and manners, and though kind and gentle, of great firmness of character. He spoke French well, and conducted morning prayers in that language for pupils ignorant of German.

But when in the spring of 1817 Niederer and Krusi decided that they must leave Pestalozzi, the masters just mentioned were not long before they followed their example.

The appeal for subscribers to Pestalozzi's works, the appeal, that is, that had brought about the rupture, was published in the last days of March, 1817; but it appears that Niederer and Krusi had made up their minds as early as the 14th of the month, for on that day they had asked the municipality for a certificate of good conduct during their residence at Yverdun, either because they thought such a document was necessary before they could live in the town apart from Pestalozzi, or else because they were afraid of Schmidt's attacks. Naef, director of the institute for deaf mutes, made a similar demand the same day, although his position was already quite independent of Pestalozzi's institute.

On the 5th of July, 1817, Pestalozzi obtained a promise from the municipality that the gratuitous enjoyment of the Castle should be continued for five years after his death to such persons as he would appoint to succeed him.

Some days after that, he asked to be allowed to rent, for purposes of cultivation, a field of some four or five acres just outside the town, and requested further that the lease might hold good after his death, like that of the Castle. This fresh request was also granted by the municipality.

The reader already sees the object of these requests; it will be made still clearer to him as we proceed.

Meanwhile Pestalozzi had refused to believe himself really forsaken by Niederer and Krusi, nor were his eyes opened until he received a rather harsh letter from Niederer, telling him that his old coadjutors would keep themselves aloof so long as he chose to retain Schmidt.

The old man's grief and anger knew no bounds; at times he was almost beside himself, and it was feared that his reason would give way. Schmidt advised a change of air on the Jura, as a means of restoring his health and helping him to recover from the effects of this cruel blow. Pestalozzi accordingly spent a few weeks in the village of Bullet, which is some three thousand feet above the lake of Neuchâtel, and was at that time almost uninhabitable. He occupied a miserable room in the cottage of an old woman, who could barely supply him with what he required. But he breathed a pure and bracing air, and had a splendid view before his eyes. In the immediate foreground lay the plain of Yverdun, with the lakes of Neuchâtel and Morat; then the Vaudese table-land, with its infinite variety of detail; farther on, the lake of Geneva, and on the horizon the long chain of the Alps, with their rugged, snow-capped peaks. In this elevated solitude the old man at last found the repose he so much needed; and yet it was a troubled repose, and full of grief, grief which he poured out in snatches of poetry that deserve to be preserved, not indeed for their literary merit, but merely as evidence of the sorrows that his own weakness had brought upon him. Pestalozzi, although a poet in heart and imagination, had rarely written poetry, and it would be difficult to understand why he wrote verses at this time, if we did not know that for some time previously he had been working out a series of elementary exercises in language, to which he had often added rhythm and rhyme as a means of facilitating their study for the child. And now the same form presented itself almost naturally to him as he breathed forth his woes at Bullet.

We can do no more than give the drift of a few of his verses:

Happy the spot where I can pray at rest,
Unhappy that where I do evil.
Sad is the place where I take refuge in tears,
But terrible is the abyss I flee from;
And, wishing to avoid it, I draw near it,
And as I draw near it, I am in doubt,
And, in my doubt, I throw myself into it . .
Into the tomb of despair.

O! bow of heaven! bow of heaven!
Thou shadowest forth the joys of the Creator;
Shed on me, too, thy colours and soft brightness!
Come, shine in the angry tempest of my life!
Usher in a brighter morn! send me a better day!

O! bow of heaven! bow of heaven!
God hath sustained me in the days of storm;
My soul, give praise to the Eternal!
Must I die before thou appear
To bring me the joys of a happier day?
Must I drink to the dregs the cup of enmity and malice?
Must I die before I find my peace, the peace I am seeking?
I acknowledge my own faults and weakness,
And I forgive others their faults;
I forgive them with love and tears.
It is in death alone that I shall find peace;
The day of my death will be my happiest day;
How beautiful wilt thou be when thou proclaimest my happier days,
Shining on my forgotten tomb,
O bow of heaven! bow of heaven!

At the death of my dear companion,
The pure snow-flakes of winter
Fell as a sweet testimony
Into her open grave.
And thus, O bow of heaven!
Do thou bring me a friendly testimony
On the day of my death.
God hath sustained me in the days of trouble;
My soul, give praise to the Eternal,
For God Himself dwells in thee,
In thee is His temple.
Praise God, O my soul,
Priestess of the temple of thy God!
Neither the heights of the earth, nor the heights of the heavens,
Neither the sea of stars, nor the army of clouds,
Shall pluck from thy being the presence of thy Creator.
No human science, no worldly honour
Can take away thy God, whom thou seest in thyself,
As thou dost in the spider and the worm.

Rest and mountain air, however, soon restored the old man's strength and calmness, and he returned to Yverdun. It was then that his friends tried once more to rescue him from Schmidt's domination, and make his last days happy and peaceful. Jullien, Fellenberg, and Charles Ritter endeavoured between them to find some means of saving the old man and his institute. Pestalozzi went several times to Hofwyl, often staying some considerable time. On these occasions he always recovered his courage and cheerfulness, and worked unceasingly at his exercises for the elementary teaching of language. One evening even, after walking from Berne to Hofwyl, a distance of nearly four miles, he asked for a light, that he might write, according to habit, through the night. Fellenberg, wishing to spare the old man the noise of his school, had found rooms for him in the neighbourhood in the house of a Dutch gentleman, Mr. Van Muyden, who took a great interest in all questions of education, and afterwards became a Councillor of State in Lausanne.

On the 17th October, 1817, after much discussion, Pestalozzi and Fellenberg drew up an agreement in eighteen articles, the principal provisions of which were as follows:

A poor-school was to be founded, at a place to be determined afterwards, according to the plans and directions of Pestalozzi. This school was, financially, to be quite independent of the institute at Yverdun, which, in its turn, was to be reorganized under the joint supervision of Pestalozzi and Fellenberg, who together would appoint a director and the staff necessary for a good educational establishment for the middle classes. The institute was henceforth to be self-supporting, and any surplus in the receipts was to be employed for the admission of poor children. When Schmidt was no longer necessary at the institute, he would leave Yverdun, and come and direct the new poor-school under Pestalozzi, who would provide him with two assistants. To guarantee the existence of the institute and poor-school, these two foundations would be placed under the protection of a large Commission, composed, with their consent, of the following friends of humanity: Zellweger, of Trogen; de Rougemont, of Neuchâtel; May de la Schadau, of Berne; de Mollin, of Lausanne; and Father Girard, of Freiburg. Gottlieb, Pestalozzi's grandson, was to go at once to Hofwyl to take a course of instruction in practical agriculture, and to see the working of Fellenberg's poor-school, so that he might be in a position to manage the Neuhof estate, as well as the school which Pestalozzi was anxious to establish there.

But Schmidt had made Pestalozzi promise not to conclude anything without consulting him; and so the old man, although he agreed with Fellenberg on all the points of the agreement, would not sign it till a clause had been inserted leaving him free to withdraw at the shortest notice.

As a matter of fact, Schmidt disapproved of the whole arrangement, and persuaded Pestalozzi that this agreement left him entirely at Fellenberg's mercy. The matter, therefore, fell through, the natural consequence of which was that from this time the old man's friends no longer dared attempt anything in his favour.

In an account of Pestalozzi's last years that he afterwards published, Fellenberg relates the whole of these negotiations in detail, with documents in corroboration, and judges Schmidt with extreme severity, declaring that he was actuated merely by motives of personal interest. But however this may have been, we are strongly of opinion that a lasting connection between Pestalozzi and Fellenberg was no more possible in 1817 that it had been in 1805. By the end of 1817, Jullien, all the French boys, a large number of other pupils, and most of the good masters had left the institute, which in every respect was in a most deplorable condition.

On the other hand, however, the subscription to Pestalozzi's works had met with extraordinary success, so great still was the sympathy for the celebrated old man in many parts of Europe. The Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and the King of Bavaria had each subscribed largely, and, thanks to the ability of Schmidt, and to the kindness and care of the publisher, Cotta of Stuttgart, the author of *Leonard and Gertrude*, without having run the least risk, was the fortunate recipient of some two thousand pounds.

This success revived Pestalozzi's courage and hope, but also, alas! his illusions. He thought the moment had at last come for realizing the dreams of his life, and accordingly sent for his grandson Gottlieb, his sole heir, in the hope of being able to fit him for carrying on his work.

Gottlieb, who had formerly been a pupil in the institute at Yverdun, had shown so little taste for study that his grandfather had thought it better that he should learn some handicraft. He had therefore become a tanner at Zurich.

Pestalozzi's discourse of the 12th of January, 1818, his seventy-second birthday, is one of the most interesting and important he ever made. In it we find his educational and philanthropical views stated perhaps with more force and clearness than anywhere else; all his projects, plans, and hopes for the future; and, lastly, his feelings with regard to the various people he has about him, and even the old friends who have just left him.

As the length of the discourse prevents us from giving it in full, we shall translate those parts only which seem to us the most instructive:

"I now find myself in the position of a father, who, seeing his end approaching, and being anxious to prepare his household, calls his people around him, and solemnly opens his heart to them about the state of his house, the projects and desires of his life, and entreats them not to disappoint him in their efforts for the realization of his hopes.

"To-day I enter on the seventy-third year of my life, a life which has always been rather public than private. And so it is not my private life, my own personal position, that occupies my mind at this moment; I am thinking rather of my public work, for the continuation of which after my death I am most anxious to provide, and of the little that I have been able to do towards a great end, the discovery and diffusion, that is, of true principles of philanthropy and education, an end which requires the earnest co-operation of all men devoted to their country and humanity.

"Friends! I feel to-day obliged to say, and I say it with a firm and unalterable conviction, that our part of the world, so far at least as education and the condition of the poor are concerned, has long been plunged in a foul atmosphere of error, and that men, in their attempts to mend matters, have employed such unnatural and artificial means, that they have only succeeded in making matters worse. This error has indeed pervaded the mind, sentiments, and habits of men to such a degree, that truth and love are powerless against it; it is like a thick, impenetrable fog, against which the sun is powerless. I am aware that what I am now saying will be misunderstood, but that will be only because this erroneous habit of thought has become, for the men of our century, almost a second nature. And just as this inveterate error perverts the views and methods of those who are willing to help the needy, so it perverts the views, sentiments, and aspirations of those who require the help.

"But I, who speak to you, am dead to the present; this world and century are nothing more to me. I am possessed by a dream, by the thought of what the education of man, of the people, of the poor, will be, in a world shorn of falseness and artificiality. And now, as I indulge in my dream, it inspires me, and I see that higher education of the soul as a tree planted by the waterside. Behold it, with its roots, trunk, branches, and fruit! Whence are they! See, you put a small kernel in the ground, and in that kernel is the spirit of the tree, its essence and its life. But the Father and Creator of the kernel, as of the fruitful ground, is God, and it is He who makes the seed to grow.

"The seed is the spirit of the tree, and makes a body for itself. See it when it leaves the bosom of the earth, its mother; even now it has already put forth its first roots, for as its internal essence develops, its external envelope must disappear. Its inner organic life has now passed into the root, and from the root everything, pith, wood, bark, and fruit will come. In trunk, branches, and twigs it is always the same pith, wood, and bark,—distinct and separate, yet continuous and connected,—protecting, sustaining, and nourishing each other, living the same organic life, and developing in accordance with Nature and the essence of the tree.

"As the tree grows, so, too, does man. Even before the child is born there are within him the invisible germs of those tendencies that life will develop. The various powers of his being and his life are developed, as in the tree, by remaining united, yet distinct, during the whole course of his existence.

"And just as the essential parts of the tree, animated by the invisible spirit of their physical organism, working together, that is, in the sure and pre-established harmony of God, co-operate, though distinct, in the formation of the final product of their power, the fruit; so, too, in the man, all the faculties of knowledge, power, and will, distinct but united by the invisible spirit of the human organism, working together in the Divine harmony of faith and love, co-operate to form that spiritual being distinct from flesh and blood, that eternal witness to justice and holiness, man created in the image of God to become perfect as his Father in heaven is perfect.

"It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing. The spirit of man is not in any particular physical power, it is not in what we call his strength, nor in his hands, nor in his brain. No, his real and effective strength, the point where his powers meet, is in his faith and love. . . .

These forces of the heart, faith and love, do for immortal man what the root does for the tree. . . .

"But do not only look at the tree that flourishes, look also at that whose root lights upon a hard rock, a burning dry sand, or a stagnant pool! Then watch the root dry up and wither, and mark how the whole tree perishes with it! Then examine yourselves, and see whether the organic powers which were intended to give you life are not decaying and leaving you in danger of perishing."

After having developed the foregoing ideas, and admitted that the human organism differs from the vegetable and animal organism in the possession of liberty and conscience, Pestalozzi explains that it is the part of education to encourage and direct the development of the best powers of the child, as a gardener encourages and directs the growth of a tree. He then adds:

"Each of our moral, intellectual, and physical powers must depend for its development upon itself alone, and not on any artificial external influences. Faith, that is, must proceed from faith, and not from the knowledge and understanding of what is to be believed; thought must proceed from thought, and not from the knowledge and understanding of what is to be thought or of the laws of thought; love must proceed from love, and not from the knowledge and understanding of what love is and of what deserves to be loved; art, too, must proceed from actual art and skill, and not from endless discussions about them. And this return to the true method of Nature for the development of our powers, absolutely requires the work of education to be subordinated to the knowledge of the various laws which control those powers. . . ."

Pestalozzi then passes in review his whole life, so far at least as it has been devoted to searching for the means of raising the people by education. He acknowledges that he has always been too incapable to succeed in any of his enterprises; but experience, which has taught him many things, still instructs him every day, and now he thanks God for not having permitted him to put his hand to the work before he was ready, and for having forced him in this way to labour continually. He brought ruin and suffering upon himself by trying to establish a home for the poor at Neuhof, and yet the memory of that attempt is dear to him, and although the property costs him much more than it brings in, he has never been willing to sell it, for he still hopes to found a school for the poor there, and is looking forward to beginning the necessary repairs next spring. Farther on he acknowledges that an institution of this kind can in no way replace a home warmed by the love of father and mother, and adds:

"The religious spirit which sheds a blessing on the domestic hearth, still exists in our midst, but is without inner life, and is reduced to a mere reasoning spirit which does nothing but discourse on what is holy and what is Divine. . . . However, the blessed spirit of the true doctrine of Christ seems to throw out new and deep roots in the midst of the corruption of our race, and to maintain in thousands of souls a pure inner life. It is, in truth, to that alone that we can look for the principles and power necessary for battling with the ideas, sentiments, desires and habits of our century, chief cause, as it seems to me, of the debasement of the people. It is by this means alone that we can resume and employ beneficently the only true methods of popular and national education, methods which God has placed in the home and maintained from time immemorial by the inexhaustible treasure of parental love."

Pestalozzi then asks what there is to be done to fight the evil he has just described, and suggests seven chief lines of action. He points out that it is neither with the rich nor the poor that the first efforts must be made, but with the great middle-class, with whom success will be much easier than with the others, because they have, in a measure, preserved the habits and virtues of the domestic hearth. Moreover it is from the middle class that regeneration will spread most surely and easily to the other portions of society, for, on the one hand, they give instructors to the rich, and on the other, they supply the poor with the example and advice of protectors, near enough to them to know them well and to be sure of being listened to.

It is because the institute of Yverdun is intended for middle-class children that Pestalozzi attaches such great value to it as a means of regeneration, and is so anxious for its continuance after his death. He declares that he could not have found a country, town, or spot more fitted for his purpose, and congratulates himself on the sympathy, facilities and welcome accorded him by the authorities and inhabitants of Yverdun, and especially by the educated portion of the community. It is at Yverdun, moreover, that he has made many important preparations, and it is at Yverdun that his institution must remain. After having developed the foregoing ideas at considerable length, Pestalozzi comes back once more to his doctrine of elementary education, as being the only means of regenerating, not merely the poor, but all classes of society. He then continues:

"Elementary education is nothing else but a supreme return to the truest and simplest form of educational art, the education of the home. This is indeed the supreme art. Its means are not special gifts of knowledge and skill, like the watering-pots with which a gardener waters a thirsty ground, after which the earth dries up again and waits for a careful hand to water it once more; no, no; the means of elementary education are rather like a running spring which is always flowing and never allows the ground to dry. No, no; the effects of true elementary culture are not transient, for it is they that set in action those powers of human nature on which all skill and knowledge depend. . . .

"With the two thousand pounds resulting from the subscription, I propose to form an inalienable capital, the annual interest of which will be perpetually employed as follows:

"1. To continue experiments in pursuit of ever simpler means for elementary teaching in the home.

"2. To train in this spirit and for this purpose, proper masters and mistresses.

"3. To found one or several model schools for the instruction of children according to the principles indicated above.

"4. To continue the search for the most suitable means of regenerating domestic education among the people.

"Now I have done my part according to my strength, and have deposited my mite on the altar of my country and of humanity. But my age tells me that my personal influence cannot last much longer, for which reason I shall do all that is necessary to strengthen my establishment by outside support. I shall address myself to de Rougemont, of Neuchâtel; Mollin, of Lausanne; Doxat, of Turin; and Constançon, of Yverdun; I am, indeed, already in communication with the two last concerning my financial arrangements, and shall ask these gentlemen to receive all moneys resulting from the subscription, invest it safely, and pay the interest each year to the persons appointed by me to carry on my work.

I am well aware that the amount produced by the subscription is quite inadequate for such a purpose; but I look upon our past labours and experiments as the real capital of my foundation, and I should hope, too, that the mite I add will not remain quite alone. By the work of my life, and by that of Niederer, Krusi, Mieg, Jullien, de Muralt, Henning, and many other friends, most of whom are now far away, the interest of a great number of men has been aroused in favour of our enterprise, the importance of which is generally felt. I hope, therefore, that a large number of my contemporaries will take part in it, and that my small contribution will disappear under the abundance of their gifts."

Pestalozzi then announces that he will work to the end of his days to increase his contribution; that he will leave the subscription open, and add to his works many important manuscripts, as yet incomplete; and further that he is going to begin at once the publication of a journal, entitled, *Journal of the Foundations of Yverdun.* In short, he will no longer consider the institute of Yverdun as his private property, but as having an independent moral personality of its own. He also points out that the income of the institute will be very small during the first few years.

Pestalozzi refers once more to his attempt to found a school for the poor at Neuhof fifty years before, and regrets that his wife, to whose devotion he then owed so much, is not still living to see him resume the execution of this project. He also thanks God for having consoled his old age by making it possible for him to do this, and announces that he is on the point of setting to work; he wishes it, however, to be known that the new asylum of Neuhof will merely bring help to a few unfortunates who are suffering, and cannot wait; whereas the entire realization of his ideal can only come later, and as the result of the work which will be carried on in his foundations at Yverdun.

Further on, Pestalozzi points out that in the middle classes there are many families who cannot pay the price of their children's schooling, and that it is precisely from these children, brought up in poverty and economy, that most is to be expected for the success of his undertaking. For that reason he has made up his mind to admit them into the institute at reduced prices, provided only that their moral nature is good and that they are thoroughly intelligent. Such children are not accustomed to have wine and meat every day, nor will they have them at the institute; there will be a separate table for them, but the moral equality will not be affected. Pestalozzi himself will eat with them, and he will take care that they do not regret the other table.

After having thus exposed all his projects, Pestalozzi addresses his grandson Gottlieb, who is once more present, after an absence of four years. He thanks him for returning, and for saying that he is ready to devote his life to his grandfather's work, and to do his best to be like him, and that he will be content with the fortune left by his grandmother, and never regret that which has been given to the foundation. Pestalozzi praises him for having thus chosen the good part; and says that he now feels free to make over everything he possesses to his work, since he leaves his grandson a vocation that is worth more than all the gold in the world. He inspires Gottlieb with courage, gives him advice, and tells him that he will find Schmidt a strong and devoted support. After reminding his hearers that Schmidt alone had saved and sustained him, he proceeds to speak of him in terms of the highest praise, denying, however, that he has ever made an idol of him. Every one has his faults, and Schmidt has his; Pestalozzi, indeed, knows them well, for they often cause him pain, but Schmidt has so many of the qualities that are wanting in the old man, that it would be difficult to find two men more different. Schmidt brings Pestalozzi power, perseverance, and absolute devotedness.

Then he enters upon the divergencies of views which have manifested themselves in his house, and the fatal dissensions which followed. The explanation he gives is as follows:

In the first days of his association with his coadjutors, Pestalozzi seemed to see that the world wished what he wished, and loved what he loved; the Government supported him, the public admired all he did, often even before he himself quite knew what he wanted to do. Full of blind trust, he thought everything easy, and so allowed himself to be drawn into a complicated undertaking, without reflecting that he was incapable of managing a numerous staff, and without remarking that the truth accepted by all his coadjutors was taking a different development with each of them, because they were all free to work in their own way and follow their own individuality. When Pestalozzi perceived this, he thought it better to shut his eyes to it, and his negligence in this respect lasted for many years, in fact, till confusion and anarchy were threatening the success of his work. Then at last he felt the need of ruling, and, in his weakness, looking about for help, he presently found a sure support. In this way he came into collision with his collaborators, who all felt that their own particular views were the only true ones.

Pestalozzi recognizes that he is himself the cause of this evil, and blames nobody; at the same time it seems to him that his friends might rise above this divergence of ideas, and work together for an object which is both great, just, and holy. He has, to-day, surmounted many obstacles, and is at last in possession of the means for realizing the projects which have occupied his life, but he still needs capable and devoted men at his side to support him.

He continues thus:

"I turn first to you, Niederer and Krusi. Now that I am laying the foundations of a work that our grandchildren will bless, it is to you I call; become once more my sons and help me in this undertaking. Some day, when our human sorrows have been long forgotten, and our flesh long hidden in the tomb, numbers of happy poor, profiting from our labours, and blessing all who took part in the work, will bless you also as members of this holy association. And you are, indeed, associated with this work for the salvation of the poor, Niederer and Krusi; for you have spent a great part of your lives in endeavouring to make it possible. I have not, it is true, succeeded as I could have wished, nor you either; but without you nothing would have been possible, and the service is great that your lives have rendered to my undertakings. It is the Lord's hand that has guided you towards my aim, my aim which is also yours. Forget, then, what is behind you, and march forward with me to our common aim. Embrace to-day the cause of our foundation, and let us unite once more in purity and hope.

"Niederer, I am laying to-day the first stone of an edifice which, small at first, may some day become the great temple of education as you yourself conceive it, and which, with God's blessing, is likely to realize your highest aspirations. Niederer, I am incapable, from the very nature of my mind, of teaching men the truth as I feel it, and so I approach my end by the heart only. But this is not enough. and I need the help of men like you, who have the power of seeing truth as a connected whole, a power I do not possess. Have we not all different talents, Niederer? Recognizing yours, we feel that we need it to make our truth into a science, and show the thinkers and teachers of the world that it is in perfect harmony with faith in Jesus Christ. We recognize, too, that by your efforts in this direction you are satisfying the highest need of our time, and rendering a true service to humanity. And, Niederer, we honour you for striving, in your teaching, to free the human will from the power of the flesh, an aim which must always remain the essential aim of education. We have witnessed the success of your efforts upon a great number of the noblest of our children, and at this solemn hour, in thanking you for what you have done, we entreat you not to deprive our establishment of your precious influence, either now or after my death.

"And you, too, dear Krusi, think, I implore you, of the old days, and believe that my friendship is unchanged. We still prize your goodness and kindness, and are most anxious that your heart should once more be ours. Think of the vast amount of good to result from the means at present in our hands. We once more ask your help in our common work and for our common happiness. At the moment of setting my house in order, Krusi, to go in peace to that place where all the passions of life are ended, and all its difficulties and illusions lost in God's soft light, at this solemn moment I beg you to bring your whole energy back to the aid of this holy and all-important work.

"I address myself to you, too, my dear Lange; you brought me help at a time when I was in urgent need, and when my enterprise was struggling between life and death. . . . Such hours of salvation are sacred, and inspire the truest and deepest gratitude. Join us, then, in founding this new association, and become one of the leaders of our institute, destined now to become far more important than it has ever been. My friend, you are rejoining my establishment at a time when it is no longer anything but a moral personality, solemnly consecrated to the poor, and unable to offer any pecuniary advantage to those who work for it.

"And you, too, Schmidt! You have renounced your rights and interests not only for the present but for the future. But I will not say any more about you now, for on several points where I should but be expressing my inmost convictions, I might not be believed. Continue only to do what you have done hitherto, and, though you have been misunderstood, still labour for me and my house with the strength you have already devoted to the work. All opinions, no matter how obstinately adhered to, will finally be overcome by persevering action.

"I now address myself to you, my colleagues, and to all whom it shall please God to send to us. I implore you all to continue to take an active, affectionate and increasing interest in this my life-work, for which to-day God is giving me such help as may prove to be a fruitful source of blessing for our country and humanity. Let us earnestly look to the duties thus imposed upon us by Providence.

"Friends, the essential aim and first duty of our association is not a new method of education, in spite of the fact that the latter, by means of faith and love, is to bring about a realization of the spirit of Christianity; no, the chief aim and first duty of our association is to take the most conscientious care of the children entrusted to us, that we may both carry out what we have promised and justify the hopes we have raised. . . . I have now more courage than ever, for I know that I shall not die till I have done all that is necessary to ensure my children being at every moment of the day under the eyes of men working for their own salvation in fear and trembling, and working for the children's as for their own. Friends, I thank you for all you are doing in our midst for art and science, and for the help you are to me in the management of the establishment. But what I particularly want to ask of you—and this is our holiest and highest obligation—is that you will earnestly watch over our children, praying both with them and for them. Friends and brothers, in this solemn hour, when I am setting my house in order at the entrance of the valley of death, a valley, however, which leads to resurrection, I beg of you not to judge of me by the weakness of my life, but to remember my words. You know now with what feelings I call you all to this holy alliance. Love one another, as Christ loved us. Love suffereth long, and is kind; love envieth not; love vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not its own, is not provoked, taketh not account of evil; rejoiceth not in unrighteousness, but rejoiceth with the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. Friends and brothers, do good to those who hate you; bless those who curse you; heap coals of fire on the head of your enemies. Let not the sun go down upon your wrath. When you bring an offering to the altar, first be reconciled with your brother and then bring your offering. Let there be no hardness among you, even towards those who do us wrong. Let all human hardness disappear before the holiness of our Christian faith. Let none of you excuse hardness towards those who have done wrong. Let no one say that Jesus did not love the unjust and the wrongdoers. He loved them with a Divine love; it was for them that He died. It was not the just, but sinners that He called to repentance. He did not find the sinner humble and faithful, but made him so by His own faith and humility. It was, indeed, by His Divine service in His most lowly position that He overcame the pride of the sinner, and inspired him with the Divine faith and love with which His own soul overflowed. Friends and brothers, if we do likewise, and love each other as Christ loved us, we shall then be able to surmount every obstacle that separates us from the aim of our life, and found the happiness of our house on the eternal rock on which God Himself founded the happiness of humanity in Jesus Christ."

This discourse is interesting and instructive in many ways; full of Pestalozzi himself, it yet bears traces here and there of Schmidt's influence. We should like to have given it in full, but in its first edition, it filled no less than a hundred and thirteen pages. In Cotta's edition, however, there were many long and important omissions, omissions which can only be attributed to Schmidt. It no longer contains, for instance, the urgent appeal to Niederer and Krusi, which, as we shall see, remained without effect. As a general rule, Pestalozzi's real thoughts must be looked for in the first edition of his works, which, unfortunately, is no longer to be found. Seyffarth's edition, however, gives the original text, together with most of the subsequent alterations.

Fellenberg relates, in his book already referred to, that on the 12th of January, 1818, immediately after the old man had finished his discourse, Schmidt announced that, though he did not approve of Pestalozzi's gift, he was anxious to associate himself unreservedly with his foundation, and would therefore make over to him his whole fortune, consisting of about two hundred and forty pounds. Fellenberg asserts that Schmidt did not really mean this; that it was, moreover, merely for the purpose of increasing the subscriptions that he had induced Pestalozzi to announce his plans for a new foundation; and that two years later, when Gottlieb became his brother-in-law, it was also he who compelled the old man to declare that he was not in a position to carry out the engagements into which he had entered; but as it is known that Fellenberg greatly disliked Schmidt, and judged him very harshly, such a statement must be received with the extremest caution.

The poor-school, however, remained Pestalozzi's favourite project; he was always coming back to the idea, and forgot, in this dream of his youth, the far greater plans which he had only lately conceived. He was very anxious to at last take some practical steps in this direction; but Schmidt, who felt that there was enough to be done already, offered a strenuous opposition. The old man insisted, and, in spite of Schmidt's obstinate resistance, returned incessantly to the attack. An absurd episode of the struggle has been related by an entirely reliable eye-witness—a lady who, in 1818, was living, a child of thirteen, in the Castle at Yverdun, and who in 1874 was still alive in Burgdorf. She tells how Pestalozzi one day earnestly begged Schmidt to allow him to found his poor-school; how the latter, refusing to listen, turned his back and ran away, and how the old man pursued him for some time, and at last, angry at being unable to catch him, threw his shoes at him.

And yet this time it was Pestalozzi who got the upper hand; for in this same year, 1818, the poor-school was opened at Clendy, a hamlet just outside Yverdun, in the house afterwards occupied by Daulte's boarding-school. It began with twelve poor children, of both sexes, most of them orphans, or forsaken by their parents. In spite of his seventy-two years, the old man devoted himself to them with the same activity, the same zeal, the same love as in his youth, and, what seems hardly credible, with the same wonderful success as had crowned his first efforts at Neuhof, Stanz, and Burgdorf. Such is the power that an education which conforms to the laws of human nature has over the heart, that this man, absent-minded, awkward and incapable in practical life, and entirely without external advantages, was able, as though by enchantment, not only to gain the attention and affection of the children by whom he was surrounded, but to make them eager to learn.

In a few months the number of the children at Clendy had risen to thirty, and marvellous progress had been made. To give some idea of the school, we will translate the account given by Professor Heussler, one of Pestalozzi's best biographers:

"Children of five and six years old joyfully spent hours together at exercises in number and form, and even still younger children learned something from merely being present at the lessons. Some were so zealous that they needed restraining rather than encouraging. The best scholars were soon set to teach others, which they did well and gladly. Winter and summer, day and night, they would run off to Grandson, a village in the neighbourhood of Yverdun, to give lessons to people older than themselves, often sitting up a part of the night. At Yverdun their teaching was preferred to that of some of the masters. 'They know,' it was said, 'how to give instruction to the children without letting them feel that they are expected to learn anything, and often they seem to be drawing the knowledge from the very children they are teaching.'"

This fresh success excited fresh admiration, and people came from all sides to see the new school at Clendy. The English were especially enthusiastic, as the Germans and French had been previously. They even encouraged the old man to think that England might be won over to his system of education, and asked him to receive at Clendy a certain number of rich children, who would pay for their instruction, and afterwards carry his method across the Channel. Pestalozzi was weak enough to consent, and the character of his institution soon changed. The teaching became less elementary and more scientific, English was studied, and at the same time the internal arrangements lost something of their original simplicity.

It was then that Schmidt, who had only reluctantly consented to the foundation of a poor-school, cleverly took advantage of this change in its character to prevent its continuation. In view of the success that the scholars had obtained in teaching, he advised Pestalozzi to turn it into a training school, and transfer it to the Castle, where all the necessary means of instruction were ready to hand. In a pamphlet published in 1820, entitled, *A Word on the State of my Pedagogical Labours and the Organization of my Institute*, Pestalozzi himself admits that this advice was given him by Schmidt.

But the idea of uniting the two establishments in the Castle already existed in the spring of 1819, as is clear from a printed leaflet, which was freely circulated in Yverdun and the neighbourhood. This leaflet was written in French, signed by Pestalozzi, and dated the 26th of May, 1819; it ran as follows:

"For the fifteen years that I have been settled in this town, my educational establishment has been freely open to everybody from morning till night, not indeed without certain inconvenient results, which were, however, not entirely insupportable, and to which I have submitted in consideration of the circumstances. But these circumstances having now in part changed, this easy access can no longer continue, at any rate to the same extent. And so, although it is part of my plan to act openly, and although I desire nothing better than to make my efforts and experiments known to all who are interested in education, I cannot help begging those who may wish to see my institute at Clendy, to leave word first at the office of the Castle, so that a convenient hour may be fixed for their visit.

"As the children of the new establishment form rather a family than a school, and take part in the domestic work of the house, they are no more prepared to receive visits from strangers at any moment than any other family. As, too, it is my duty to fit these children for their ultimate duties as quickly as possible, I am obliged to observe the strictest economy in the employment of their time. The results of their education will, please God, soon be visible in the institute of the Castle, and I shall be in a position, not only to carry out on a much larger scale what is being done at Clendy by the children themselves, but also to open a course of lessons in those parts of the method already perfected, for persons not attached to the institute of the Castle, lessons to which the most advanced children of the institute of Clendy will be admitted, and in some of which they will be employed. There will shortly be lessons in the English language, for instance, given at the Castle by Englishmen, and not only to men, but to women, if there are any who desire it. Some Englishmen are coming next summer to study certain branches of the method, and I will willingly grant permission to other persons to attend the lessons they will give. The public may rest satisfied that I shall in no wise slacken in my efforts for the improvement of education; but though I am perfectly ready to put myself at the service of all who take a real interest in my work, nobody can be offended if I ask that my two institutes may be spared such visits as have no other motive but curiosity, and only uselessly waste my time and that of the children entrusted to my care."

It is a very great pity that Pestalozzi should have put his name to this document, which aimed, it is true, at doing what was really necessary and ought to have been done long before, but which at the same time degenerates into a sort of advertisement in which we no longer recognize the noble-hearted educational reformer.

In July of that same year, the institute of Clendy was united with that of Yverdun in the Castle, the young girls being installed in the second storey of the north wing, in the rooms formerly occupied by Pestalozzi and his wife. At the same time various repairs were carried out in the Castle, several new rooms being built in the towers, and fire-places supplied to those rooms that were without them.

On the 23rd of July, 1819, the Yverdun municipality, having to communicate with Pestalozzi concerning the repairs, took advantage of the occasion to let him know that they regretted this fusion of the two schools, and that public opinion did not at all approve of young people of different sexes being brought together in the same building.

The Clendy poor-school had only lasted a year, but it had brought the old man one more taste of joy. In these last days, days embittered by disappointment and failure, it had shone for a moment brightly and serenely, as though in answer to the desire he had expressed at Bullet for a rainbow to shine upon his tomb.

This last success, short-lived as it was, was not without important results for humanity. The little children, who were assembled at Clendy, amused, occupied and instructed by the rational, gentle and paternal discipline of Pestalozzi, furnished the model of one of the most valuable educational institutions of our century. Speaking of this in his *Reminiscences*, Professor Vulliemin says:

"The effect of Pestalozzi's action has already lasted longer than his institute, and longer than he himself, nor will it cease for a long time to come; for though the flower and fruit have disappeared, the seed has been scattered over the globe. There is no new book on education in which Pestalozzi's name does not occupy a place of honour. Think, too, of the mothers taught by him to give increased care and attention to their children's early years, and of the schools that are the better for his influence. As for the infant schools, which nowadays exist everywhere, it was he who originated them, in a manner which I myself saw, and will now describe.

"The Yverdun institute was drawing near its end, when Pestalozzi, at the age of seventy-two, conceived the idea of returning to his earliest interests, and founding outside the institute a school for poor children. You know the hamlet of Clendy, on the shore of the lake to the east of Yverdun. It was there that I saw him resume his first efforts, with the same devotion, the same youthful enthusiasm, and with even a purer faith; there that I saw him obtain the same successes, and split on the same rocks. Clendy fell, as, before very long, the great institute itself was to fall. But there was a man there who had taken part in the short-lived enterprise, a man of Christian spirit and enlightened understanding. This man, who was an Englishman, by name Greaves, carried the ideas he had gathered at Clendy back to England, where they took root, and became the origin of infant schools. From England these schools returned to us, first to Geneva, then to Nyon, then everywhere. We had not understood Pestalozzi; but when his methods came back from England, though they had lost something of their original spirit, their meaning and application were clear."

The year 1820 was another time of illusions and dreams for Pestalozzi. He had brought together in the Castle rich and poor, boys and girls, an elementary class for little children, a school and a training college. The poorer children, who were admitted out of charity and paid little or nothing, lived more simply than the rich, and during the hours of recreation, when the others were enjoying themselves, took part in the domestic work. As a general rule, it was out of these poorer children that the future schoolmasters and schoolmistresses were to be made.

Schmidt had probably only consented to this amalgamation from motives of economy, but to Pestalozzi it meant a new and important condition of success for his work. In order to get others to share his opinion in this matter, he published the pamphlet already referred to, entitled, *A Word on the State of my Pedagogical Labours*, etc., which begins thus:

"In acquainting the public to-day with the new organization of my establishment, I find myself compelled, on the one hand, to say a few words as to my previous efforts in the cause of education, and on the other, to give a few general explanations as to what I feel able and bound to do for the purpose of consolidating my work, and assuring its continuation after my death."

After reminding his readers that the aim of his earlier labours was to comfort and raise the people by education, and after admitting that he lacked the necessary strength and capacity when he founded his institute of Burgdorf, he speaks of the dissension with which his own weakness has surrounded him as being the chief cause of the defects which have ruined his work. But to-day these troubles have disappeared, and all his collaborators are harmoniously walking in the path that leads straight to his end. Nor is the progress of the institute any longer hampered by the financial difficulties from which it has long suffered. But as, notwithstanding all this, the public is not yet able to appreciate the bearing of his labours, he concludes that their prejudices will have to be eradicated, not by words, but by action and by time. He then continues:

> "The resolution of my grandson to continue my work, to dedicate his whole life to it, and to unite himself to my friend Schmidt by the closest ties,[1] gives our undertaking, even from a financial point of view, as much solidity as we could desire.
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> "But what is still more important than financial soundness, and all other external means for forwarding our work, is that, by my new institution for forming masters and mistresses, I have succeeded in laying a sure foundation for the realization of the most important parts of my earlier undertakings, a statement which no one will doubt after seeing the results of the union of my two institutes, which has now lasted for more than eighteen months.
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> "The facts will show that the children of the two institutes joyfully work together, full of kindness, help and mutual attentions, each of them advancing according to his diligence and talents without either jealousy or humiliation. Yes, I venture to say, with the most profound conviction, that when rich and poor children live together in the same institution, under different regulations and conditions, they may often find in this very circumstance a most valuable means of moral development."

Pestalozzi then explains at length the advantages of his new organization. In the first place, his institute being more like a family than a school, the children enjoy all the advantages of home life, and become imbued with a sense of what is owing to parents and brothers and sisters; both boys and girls, too, learn something of the gentleness, modesty, and respect which should, in ordinary life, characterize the relations between the sexes. In the second place, he speaks of the social advantages of his institute, and the wholesome influence they are likely to exercise in the future. Children of both rich and poor mix freely together, the difference in tastes and habits, however, and in the positions they will some day be called upon to occupy being strictly kept in view; they receive the same education and the same elementary instruction, and profit equally from all the resources of the institute. In this way they learn to know and respect one another, and on going out into the world do much to weaken the prejudices which foster such dangerous antagonism between the different classes of society.

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[1] Soon after this Gottlieb married Schmidt's sister.

Pestalozzi recognizes with regret that his magnificent ideal of social regeneration has not yet been realized in his own establishment, but the experience of the last year and a half leaves no doubt in his mind as to its possibility. He also recognizes his own incapacity, but counts on Schmidt, who already bears the whole burden, to continue and complete his work. After once more speaking in terms of the highest praise of this valiant collaborator, whose full value he alone appreciates, he concludes by giving the conditions of admission, terms, etc., for the different classes of pupils.

But neither Pestalozzi's experiment, nor the pamphlet which gave such a favourable account of it, succeeded in convincing the public. The well-to-do parents, little inclined to believe in the value of such a mixed institution, removed their children without delay, and Pestalozzi once more found himself in a position of grave financial embarrassment.

The year 1821 was filled with Pestalozzi's, or rather Schmidt's disputes with the Yverdun Municipality; for, in spite of the great falling off in the number of the pupils, and in spite of the fact that most of those who remained were poor children, Pestalozzi actually allowed himself to be persuaded that the rooms were not comfortable enough, and required considerable alteration. Accordingly, on the 12th of January, he wrote to the Municipality reproaching them with causing the decline of the institution by their neglect of the buildings, asking for repairs to the amount of nearly two hundred pounds, and threatening legal proceedings if they did not carry out their engagements.

On the 2nd of February the Municipality, which till now had always readily acceded to Pestalozzi's requests, replied that these recriminations and threats were in striking contrast with the friendliness of their previous relations, and that it could only attribute the tone of Pestalozzi's letter to the secretary he had been pleased to employ. It expressed surprise that additional accommodation should be required when the number of pupils had so much diminished, and pointed out that the nature of the institute had been changed, on the one hand by the addition of the poor-school, and on the other by the attempt to adapt the internal arrangements to the luxurious habits and tastes of the many English who had come there, and who were dissatisfied with the simplicity of the life, a simplicity, however, which had formerly been accompanied by so much prosperity. In conclusion, the Municipality promised that a Commission should be appointed to confer with Pestalozzi, and see if some understanding could be arrived at.

On the 13th of February, Pestalozzi, in another letter, asks that the free use of the Castle to be granted after his death to persons named by him, shall be not for five years only but for twenty.

On the 24th, the Municipality suggests that the expense of the repairs shall be borne partly by Pestalozzi and partly by the town, and consents on these conditions to grant the free use of the Castle for at least fifteen years from 1821. In a further letter, on the 3rd of March, Pestalozzi refuses to bear any part of the expense of the repairs. The Municipality accordingly retracts its offer, and awaits the threatened proceedings.

Before very long these proceedings were really commenced, but only after the Municipality had made another fruitless effort to come to an amicable arrangement. On the 17th of August, and while the case was proceeding, a still further effort was made, the Municipality offering to pay Pestalozzi a hundred pounds on the condition that he would not ask for any more money for five years, and that after that time the expense of repairs should be divided equally between himself and the town, the town's share never to exceed fifteen pounds a year.

But this new proposal was also rejected, and the case went on till the 15th of November, when Pestalozzi withdrew. Even then, out of consideration for him, the municipality undertook to pay the costs, which amounted to nearly twenty pounds.

While Schmidt was thus compromising Pestalozzi's name by these miserable disputes, the old man, paying little attention to administrative details, never ceased to work at the application of his principles to elementary instruction and the raising of the people.

On the 12th of January, 1822, his seventy-sixth birthday, he presented a child with a copy of *Leonard and Gertrude*, the gift being accompanied by the following letter:

"My dear Child!

"If I were not so near the grave, if I could hope to see with my own eyes your early development, I would not, in memory of my experiences and views, offer you this poor gift, but would joyfully devote all my remaining powers to awakening and developing yours.

"But my time is past, and so I can only give you this dead book, *Leonard and Gertrude*, to remind you of my life. May it, by its impression on you, lead you to the same wisdom, the same strength, and the same holiness in things human as in things Divine!

"My child, the world is full of evil; beware of its cunning devices, its enchantments and its gold; beware, above all, of your own weakness. Learn to know yourself. Examine and consider well what great powers God has given you, what goodness and holiness He has put in your heart; for it is here that you will find your first help against your flesh and against the world with its corruption. Pray God that none of His precious gifts be lost through your own fault. Bury none of your talents, like the worthless steward in the Gospel, but endeavour in all things to become perfect as your Father in heaven is perfect. Sanctify by faith and love these gifts of God, that they may become holy powers within you, devoted to the imitation of your Saviour and the service of God and man. For, my dear child, in developing that which is Divine within you, you must not neglect that which is human. Let your holiness go hand in hand with the manifold duties of your earthly life, guiding you, supporting you, and strengthening you at all times and in all places.

"PESTALOZZI.

"*Yverdun, the* 12*th of January*, 1822; *my birthday.*"

This letter shows that at seventy-six years of age Pestalozzi had lost none of his activity of heart and mind, although the poor old man blindly allowed himself to be dragged into groundless law-suits and impossible undertakings. But it is also interesting for another reason. At this time the canton of Vaud was the scene of what has been called a religious revival. To profound convictions on many neglected points of Christian doctrine, the leaders of the movement joined a narrow party-spirit, the tendency of which was to place believers outside the conditions of ordinary life, to the very great detriment of both family and social relations. The letter shows us Pestalozzi, alarmed by this tendency, endeavouring to ward off the danger from a child in whom he is evidently deeply interested, the essential point of his exhortation being as to the necessity of not separating the Divine and human elements in our lives.

During this same year, 1822, Pestalozzi continued to work at the elementary teaching of language with the ardent zeal and obstinate perseverance that form one of his most remarkable characteristics. In this connection Miss Chavannes, in her biography of Pestalozzi, quotes an interesting passage from Professor Charles Monnard's article on him in the *Encyclopedic Review:*[1]

"The first thing to strike us, when we consider Pestalozzi's career as a whole, is the decision and boldness with which he had grasped, at the very outset, the central idea of all his subsequent labours, labours which were continued even upon his death-bed. As he thus began, as it were, with a conception of his completed system, his first steps betokened an assurance, and his first experiments a sincerity, an independence, and a boldness which could only be the outcome of genius. The astonishment of his contemporaries, their mockery, their criticism, their indifference even, nothing could daunt him. In his work, as in his writings, there is indeed development and progression, but the aim is always the same, and there is always the one dominant idea, the soul of his labours as of his life. A single fact will suffice to show the constancy with which he followed this idea, it might almost be said, his only idea. In the last years of his life, he endeavoured to apply his method to the study of

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[1] 1836, p. 295.

Latin. As he honoured the writer of this article with his friendship and confidence, he came to him one day and explained at some length what he had already accomplished. This was in July, 1822. Shortly afterwards I had to take a journey which kept me away from Pestalozzi for more than eighteen months; but I was no sooner back than he came to me again, and after asking for my family and health, at once took up our conversation on the teaching of Latin where we had dropped it in July, 1822, exclaiming: 'Let us begin at once, and lose no time.'"

It is now our painful duty to turn to the deplorable quarrels between Pestalozzi and Schmidt, and their old collaborators. In the first place, Niederer, to excuse himself for having left the institute, attacked Schmidt; and then Schmidt, to justify himself, attacked Niederer. The controversy became more and more bitter and violent. Pestalozzi was not really concerned in it, but as he was unwilling to leave Schmidt in the breach, he accepted the responsibility of all his acts. Niederer, out of respect for his former master, did what he could to spare him, but unfortunately the severe blows he aimed at Schmidt all fell on the old man.

The better to satisfy his animosity, Schmidt had invented two ways of attacking his adversaries, both in the ostensible interests of Pestalozzi and his institute.

The first was in connection with the girls' school which Pestalozzi had founded and made over to the Niederers. Schmidt maintained that the transaction had never been closed, and that there was still money owing to Pestalozzi, an allegation which Niederer entirely denied. After the dispute had lasted some years, Pestalozzi and Schmidt withdrew their claim.

The other method was to induce the Government of the canton of Vaud to forbid those of Pestalozzi's collaborators who had left the institute to open private educational establishments in Yverdun; and with this object Pestalozzi addressed a memorial to the Government, a copy of which he sent, on the 23rd of October, 1818, to the Yverdun Municipality, with the request that they would support his demand. But the Municipality refused, saying that as perfect liberty of action in such matters was guaranteed in the canton, the Council of State itself would not have the right to do as he wished. On the 30th of the same month, Niederer, Krusi and Naef asked the Municipality to acquaint them with the tenor of Pestalozzi's memorial, a request that was also refused. We do not know what precise answer the Government made Pestalozzi, but it was bound to be in the negative.

Niederer continued therefore to direct his institute for girls, and Naef his for deaf mutes, while Krusi and Knusert together founded a boarding-school for boys, the sole direction of which, however, soon devolved upon Knusert, Krusi being called away to direct the cantonal school of Trogen in his native canton.

Meanwhile Niederer had commenced proceedings against Schmidt for libel. After a long trial, however, Schmidt was acquitted.

But this state of things, which had already deprived the institute of the support it most needed, and was now fast bringing about its final ruin, made Pestalozzi exceedingly unhappy, so that he was ready to do anything for the sake of peace, except indeed the one thing necessary, which was to dismiss Schmidt. Since the death of his wife he had been without the advice and affectionate sympathy that for forty-five years had supported and cheered him through the hardest trials; and though his belief in his work, his devotion, vivid imagination, and persevering activity were still the same, they not infrequently gave way to periods of grief and despondency. In February, 1823, during one of these sad times, he wrote to the Niederers, begging them to put an end to the proceedings they had instituted against Schmidt, and in which the old man, anxious to answer for his friend, had found himself involved. This letter, which Pestalozzi afterwards printed in the *Experiences*, runs as follows:

"I implore you, in the name of God, deliver me from the martyrdom that I am suffering in this guilty war, which for nearly six years has been raging between our two so-called Christian institutions with wicked and anti-Christian obstinacy. Think, my dear Niederer, of all we have hoped together, and of what we have been for each other; become, so far as possible, my old friend again, as I would fain be once more yours. Oh, Niederer, would that our former love might so strengthen and sanctify us that we might go and take the sacrament together without fearing to cause surprise and scandal amongst our neighbours! . . . Dear friends, I am standing on the brink of the grave; will you not let me go down to it in tranquillity? But there is also something left for me to do on earth; I implore you, therefore, free me from the tortures that these miserable quarrellings inflict upon me, that henceforth I may go on with my work in peace. Grant me this help, and I promise you my love and gratitude till my life's end."

One wonders how Niederer can have resisted such an appeal, and whether he had completely lost the admiration and respect he had once felt for Pestalozzi. This was certainly not the case, but the fact is that he dared not trust the feeble old man so long as he remained such a mere tool in Schmidt's hands.

Meanwhile the Vaudese Government, enlightened either by Pestalozzi's request as to the collaborators who had left the institute, or by the reports of the Yverdun municipality on the proceedings that had been instituted against them, had become aware of this unhappy state of things; and, fearful lest these painful disputes should result in the ruin of a useful and celebrated institution, determined to put an end to them. It accordingly instructed its representative at Yverdun to interpose and make an effort to bring about a reconciliation, which, after much trouble, he succeeded in doing, the contending parties consenting to sign a sort of treaty of peace, which was drawn up in French by Niederer himself. It will be observed that in the preamble of this document, which we give below, Pestalozzi occupied a place apart, as if he were not really concerned in the matter:

"The undersigned, Doctor Henry Pestalozzi, founder and head of an educational institute in Yverdun, together with Hermann Krusi, director of the cantonal school of Appenzell at Trogen, Conrad Naef, head of an institute for deaf-mutes, and Doctor Jean Niederer, minister of the Gospel and head of an institute for girls, of the one part, and Joseph Schmidt of the other part, having resolved to terminate their differences amicably, and in a manner consistent with the personal character, dignity, and civil and social position of those concerned, have agreed on the following points·

"I. They declare to be contrary to truth, their better knowledge, and their real convictions, all the slanderous statements and imputations that have, as the result of certain misunderstandings, been spoken, written, or printed since the return of the above-named Joseph Schmidt to the institute of Pestalozzi in 1815, whoever may have been the subject of the said statements and wherever they may have originated. They particularly make a formal retraction of the charges and counter-charges made in connection with certain financial disputes, as being without foundation, and, so far as they affect the honour and uprightness of the persons concerned, as being the result of a misapprehension and of the heat of passion.

"II. The law-suits now pending to be withdrawn by the proper party, each side paying its own costs.

"III. The still unsettled financial question to be referred to four arbitrators, who, in the event of equal votes, shall choose a further arbitrator to decide the matter. Each side to choose its own arbitrators, and to have absolute freedom of choice. The decision to be made public, if so desired.

"IV. As it is essential, on the one hand, that the internal harmony of the establishments and the free action of those who direct them be undisturbed, and, on the other, that the means at present existing for Pestalozzi's undertaking be made the best possible use of, Messrs. Naef and Niederer offer to do what they can to further his efforts, provided, that is, that they can be useful to him and that he makes them a personal request, and on the understanding, of course, that they will as carefully avoid all interference with the internal relations and management of Pestalozzi's institute as Pestalozzi would avoid interference with theirs.

"V. In the event of new misunderstandings and dissensions arising in connection with Pestalozzi's wishes concerning the before-mentioned persons and their establishments, a contingency of which we are not at all afraid, the differences to be settled in a frank and generous spirit by arbitrators appointed in Yverdun itself.

"VI. In the event of Pestalozzi's unwillingness to make the whole of this agreement public, Messrs. Krusi, Naef, and Niederer will be satisfied with the publication of the first three points or the first alone.

"*Yverdun, the* 31*st December*, 1823.

"Pestalozzi,
J. Schmidt.
J. C. Naef,
J. Niederer, in my own name and in that of
Mr. Hermann Krusi."

This document was published in 1824 in the ninth volume of Cotta's edition of Pestalozzi's works, where it is accompanied by a declaration, dated the 17th March, 1824, which begins thus:

"I am grieved beyond measure to be obliged to insert here this memorial of a most unhappy time; but I cannot do otherwise, for these hostilities, which from their first causes to their final consequences lasted no less than ten years, have crushed all my hopes by slowly destroying every means I possessed of reaching the end to which I had devoted my life. I hope the public will share the sorrow I feel in thus being compelled to declare that these circumstances have rendered the foundation from which I expected such good results entirely impossible, and have made me absolutely incapable of fulfilling the engagements I contracted with so much ardour."

Pestalozzi then goes on to explain how these dissensions brought trouble into his establishment, robbed him of the confidence of the public, and so ruined his institute, upon which he counted as a fundamental and indispensable part of his projected enterprise. He adds, that he has spent his last farthing, that he has even had to use some of his grandson's money, that his pen is the only resource left him for carrying on the work of his life, that he already has several manuscripts almost completed, and that he is going to work with redoubled zeal.

Few of Pestalozzi's friends read this declaration without a feeling of burning shame. They accused Schmidt of having excited illusory hopes in the old man so long as there was a chance of increasing the subscription to his writings, of having caused him to waste the proceeds of this subscription in law-suits and fruitless efforts to give an appearance of vitality to an institute already as good as dead, and lastly, of not having opened his eyes till it was impossible to go on any longer.

The fact is that Pestalozzi never had the disposal of his two thousand pounds; that Schmidt, clever as he was, was a very bad administrator; and that the noble friend of humanity died as poor as he had lived.

The final and complete ruin of his hopes seems to have come upon Pestalozzi suddenly, for, a few weeks before the date of his declaration to the public, he was still occupied with the question of repairs, towards which, on the 30th of January, 1824, the municipality had voted him a grant of fifty pounds.

Meanwhile all the pupils in a position to pay had left the institute, a few poor children alone remaining. Gottlieb and his wife had gone to farm at Neuhof; and Pestalozzi, almost penniless, still owed the town arrears of rent for the field that he had taken on lease in 1817.

The rest of this year, 1824, was spent in struggling against these financial difficulties, the old man's distress at one time being so great that he allowed himself to be persuaded to take a step which, in spite of our knowledge of Schmidt's ascendancy over him, would be absolutely incredible were it not that the proof of it is still to be seen in the Yverdun archives. When pressed by the Municipality for the arrears of rent above mentioned, the old man, in a letter dated the 5th of November, 1824, asked that his debt should be reduced by the amount of an indemnity due to him for having been to Basle in 1814 at the time when it seemed likely that a military hospital would be established in Yverdun.

As Schmidt took the management of these financial matters entirely out of Pestalozzi's hands, the old man was able to devote a great deal of attention to his literary work. He was chiefly engaged now in elaborating his elementary exercises of language, but he also, about this time, completed and published a pamphlet of some eighty pages, entitled: *Views on Industry, Education, and Politics, in connection with the State of our Country before and after the Revolution*, and bearing the motto, *Know Thyself*.

In this interesting work, which deserves to be better known, the author looks forward to a great development of industry and capital, and to a correspondingly great increase in the numbers of those who, dependent upon their daily earnings for a livelihood, are more exposed than any other class to discontent and misery, a state of things which will only serve to aggravate the existing antagonism between the classes. The only remedy for all this lies, in his opinion, in a good system of popular education. At the end of the book are two appendices; one giving "the picture of a poor-school," the other treating of "the religious education of the children of the poor."

Whilst Pestalozzi, carried away by his heart and imagination, was thus giving himself up to philanthropic speculations, his ruin was slowly being consummated.

Schmidt's harshness and domineering spirit had made him many enemies. People blamed him for the many unworthy things Pestalozzi had done in the last few years, and reproached him for having caused the ruin of the institute. Under these circumstances it was soon felt that it would be well to get him out of the place, and so render a signal service not only to Pestalozzi and his institute, but also to the town. Schmidt had never complied with the formalities that the law required from all strangers domiciled in the canton, and ugly rumours—which, however, we have reason to believe were unfounded—had been circulated about his morality. Representations to this effect were now made to the Council of State of the canton by some persons whose names have never transpired, but whose opinions were certainly shared by the great majority of the inhabitants of Yverdun. These complaints had the desired result; for there is an entry in the secret register of the Council, dated the 6th of October, 1824, which runs as follows:

"The commissioners of police report that having been informed that Mr. Victor Joseph Schmidt, a Tyrolese, had encouraged certain acts of immorality in Mr. Pestalozzi's institute at Yverdun, they instructed the justice of the peace to examine Mr. Theodore Frank, a master in the said institute, who was said to be in a position to give information in the matter.

"From this gentleman's depositions, and from further information furnished by the justice of the peace, Mr. Schmidt appears to be gravely compromised.

"The Council of State therefore, adopting, with certain modifications, the suggestion of the commissioners, have decided to expel Mr. Schmidt from the canton, and write the following letters:

"1. *To the Justice of the Peace of the District of Yverdun.*

"Sir,—

"The Council of State requests you to inform Mr. Victor Joseph Schmidt, who is from another canton, and has been living in Mr. Pestalozzi's institute without having first obtained the right of residence in Yverdun, that he must leave the canton within six weeks from this date.

"In this connection the Council of State cannot refrain from expressing its surprise that Mr. Schmidt should have been allowed to reside in Yverdun for so long without fulfilling the necessary conditions of residence, and requests that for the future you will see that the law is more strictly observed.

"2. *To the same. Confidential.*

"Sir,—

"Considering the relations which exist between Mr. Pestalozzi and Mr. Schmidt, it is probable that the latter's expulsion will cause this old man, to whose many misfortunes nobody can be indifferent, considerable pain. The Council of State being anxious, as far as possible, to soften this blow to Mr. Pestalozzi, requests you therefore, before notifying its decision to Mr. Schmidt, to send for Mr. Pestalozzi, and, without entering into any details as to the charges brought against his colleague, give him to understand that important considerations, affecting both his institute and public order, have compelled the Council to take this step; but that the esteem and respect in which he has always been held are by no means shaken, and that the Government's interest in his work will remain the same.

"You will easily understand that the object of this confidential letter is, on the one hand, that you may avoid anything which would be likely to give publicityto these unpleasant facts; and, on the other, that you may do all you can to spare the feelings of an old man who, on account of his useful work, his devotion to his fellow-creatures, and his present unfortunate circumstances, deserves especial consideration."

The justice of the peace was thus instructed to make

Pestalozzi understand a decision of which he was not even to be told the reason—a difficult task, in which he does not seem to have thoroughly succeeded. Be that as it may, Schmidt easily persuaded Pestalozzi that the blow was directed against his institute and himself, and the old man accordingly addressed violent protestations to the Council, pointing out that to send away a man whom he could not do without was tantamount to making him go himself. But his protestations were in vain; the Council would grant nothing but a few months' respite.

In letters dated the 19th and 21st of February, 1825, Pestalozzi announced to the Municipality that he was leaving Yverdun; but he also announced that he should some day return, and that he still claimed possession of the Castle. Now that his institute had ceased to exist, however, the Municipality did not feel bound to allow him the use of the Castle any longer; and yet it was not till they had been in correspondence with him for two years, and had actually begun to take legal steps for its recovery, that they regained possession of the building, in which Pestalozzi had left a single servant and his natural history collections, everything else having been sold.

It was with some show of reason, therefore, that Schmidt, in a pamphlet published in 1847 entitled, *Pestalozzi and his Neuhof*, attributed the final closing of the Yverdun institute to the Vaudese Council of State.

Pestalozzi left Yverdun with Schmidt early in March, 1825, and found a home with his grandson Gottlieb, at Neuhof, a place he had himself made and the scene of his first efforts for helping the people.

Some of his biographers have stated that Pestalozzi was anxious to take to Neuhof the pupils still left at Yverdun, but that none of them were willing to accompany him. The Municipality, on the other hand, in a report addressed to the Council of State, affirms that some time before the institute was closed there was not a single pupil left. Both of these statements, however, are incorrect; for, as we shall see presently, it is certain that at least four of his former pupils went with him to Neuhof.

The institute of Yverdun had lasted for twenty years, and had enjoyed an unexampled prosperity; before it ceased to exist, it had fallen to the lowest degree of abasement.

CHAPTER XVI.

PESTALOZZI'S LAST YEARS.

In retirement at Neuhof he writes his last works and builds a pauper-school. Papers read before the Helvetian Society at Langenthal, and the Society of the Friends of Education at Brugg. Last sign of his love for the poor. Biber's pamphlet. Death of Pestalozzi. His funeral. His present tomb.

PESTALOZZI, nearly eighty years old, has now lost his last hopes and last illusions; he has outlived his work, a calamity the very thought of which had made him shudder. The great dream of his life is over; the ideal which he has so passionately striven after from his youth, which has been, as it were, the one object of his love and faith, and to which he has sacrificed everything else, is now for ever gone. Schmidt, his self-imposed master, is still with him, leading him like a child, but there can be little doubt that this tyrannical control was very irksome to the old man, for though he had submitted to it voluntarily, it was only because it seemed to him like a fatal necessity imposed upon him by his gratitude and the interests of his work. Already in his discourse of the 12th of January, 1818, he had admitted that he was well aware of Schmidt's faults, and often suffered from them.

One would imagine that so much misfortune and so many disappointments would have broken the old man's courage, and crushed the activity and originality of his genius. But it was not so, for he had no sooner reached Neuhof than he eagerly took up his pen again, writing first his *Song of the Swan*, one of his most remarkable works, and as it were his dying instructions to posterity in the matter of education; and then the *Experiences of My Life*, a book in which he gives an account of his whole career, blaming himself for all his misfortunes, and endeavouring to exculpate Schmidt, sometimes even at the expense of Niederer. Besides these two publications, of which we shall have more to say presently, he was also working at a fifth part to *Leonard and Gertrude*; a new manual for mothers, with instructions for the education of children up to the age of seven, to supplement the *Book for Mothers* already published, with which he was not entirely satisfied; and lastly, a series of elementary exercises for teaching children Latin as they learn their mother-tongue.

All this literary work did not in the least interfere with his plans for a poor-school, which he now looked forward to establishing in the very spot where he had made his first unsuccessful attempt fifty years before. With this end in view, he gave orders, almost immediately after his arrival, for the necessary buildings to be commenced. As the work proceeded, much too slowly for the impatient old man, he would go and spend hours teaching in the village school at Birr. He also took great delight in visiting his old acquaintances the peasants, talking over their affairs with them, and giving them advice and encouragement.

On going back to his grandson at Neuhof with Schmidt, Pestalozzi had been followed by four of his pupils, two of whom had been sent to him from Cadiz. He was so eager to spread his method in France, England, Spain, and Portugal, that he sent Schmidt to both Paris and London in furtherance of this object, and even meditated the publication of a periodical in French.

We owe these details to Henning, a former Yverdun pupil, who had become the director of a training school, and who visited Pestalozzi at Neuhof, in August, 1825. His account of his visit is as follows:

"I had not seen him for thirteen years, and found him looking older certainly, but on the whole very little changed. He was still active and strong, simple and open; his face still wore the same kindly, plaintive expression; his zeal for human happiness, and especially for the education of poor and little children, was as keen as thirteen years before. . . . In spite of the heat he accompanied me to Lenzburg, and valiantly mounted the two or three hundred steps leading to the Castle. . . . The vivacity of his speech and the vigour of all his movements inspired me with the hope that the term of his earthly existence was still far off. My heart was full when I took leave of the kind old man. I shall never forget the time that it was my good fortune to spend with him."

It is evident then that in these last days, Pestalozzi, though still controlled by Schmidt in material affairs, freely carried on the philanthropic work to which his life had been devoted.

On the 3rd of May, 1825, Pestalozzi was present at a meeting of the Helvetian Society, at Schinznach. He was welcomed with every demonstration of respect, and chosen as president for the following year. At the banquet which followed the meeting, he proposed a toast to "the Society that does not bruise the broken reed or quench the smoking flax."

On the 26th of April, 1826, the Society met at Langenthal. Pestalozzi had prepared an address, which was read by Schuler, of Aerlisbach, and which was afterwards printed in Cotta's edition of his works. In the next chapter we shall give some account of this interesting document, in which the author touches on many social questions that are still burning to-day.

In the summer of the same year, Pestalozzi and Schmidt paid a visit to the institute for orphans founded by Zeller, at Beuggen, near Rheinfelden. Zeller managed his establishment with much zeal and talent, and in most respects followed Pestalozzi's method. Being one of those Christians, however, who think that a child's natural tendencies are all bad, he blamed Pestalozzi for looking on education as a mere development of what is by nature good. In his religious ardour Zeller loved dogmatism no less than Pestalozzi feared it.

In spite of these differences, the old man was received at Beuggen with every expression of esteem and respect. The children sang a poem of Goethe's, quoted in *Leonard and Gertrude*, and peculiarly applicable to the sad circumstances of their guest; they then offered him a crown of oak, which, however, he refused to accept, saying, with tears in his eyes, "I am not worthy of this crown; leave it for innocence!"

On the 21st of November of the same year, 1826, the

Society of Friends of Education assembled at Brugg. Pestalozzi, who was present at the meeting, had prepared a paper on "The simplest means of educating children at home, from the cradle to the age of six." After this paper had been read by his friend and neighbour, the pastor of Birr, Pestalozzi himself rose to add a few new developments, and spoke with such warmth, such zeal for his idea, such passionate love for children, that he seemed to have recovered all his old strength.

The same compassion for the poor that had inspired Pestalozzi's earliest efforts continued to inspire him to the end. As winter approached he was troubled to see that the rise in the price of firewood would prevent many of his neighbours from laying in a sufficient stock for the severe weather. Fearing that this would entail a terrible amount of suffering and disease on many families, he tried to find some means of prevention. The poor people, he thought, would spend their winter under much healthier conditions if the bare ground on which their cottages stood was covered with a layer of gravel, to keep the damp away, and then with two or three layers of straw-matting. It seemed to him that such a simple thing as this would be within everybody's reach. But not satisfied with merely advising the peasants what to do, he sought to set them the example by making the experiment himself.

With this object he selected in his still unfinished house a room on the ground-floor, where the flooring had not yet been laid, and, having filled his pocket with small stones, proceeded to throw them in through the open window. Seeing this, his grandson had a few loads of gravel shot before the house, and offered to help him, but the old man would not accept any further assistance, and even in the month of December was still to be seen kneeling in the snow, with trembling hands throwing the gravel into the room. At last, however, the severity of the weather and his ever-increasing weakness interrupted the work, which he was destined never to resume. Long after his death the heap of gravel was still to be seen before the window, last token, as it were, of his compassion for the poor.

We give these last facts, on the authority of Mr. Lippe, of Lenzburg, who, at this time, paid frequent visits to Pestalozzi at Neuhof.

But there was still another sorrow in store for the old man, a sorrow more poignant than all the rest, and one which was to deal him his death-blow.

In writing the *Experiences*, Pestalozzi, influenced by Schmidt, whom he was seeking to defend, had allowed himself to be led into many unfortunate exaggerations, and had been very unjust to those of his old collaborators who had forsaken him. Niederer especially had been deeply hurt, and had vented his indignation in Yverdun with his characteristic energy. His grievances had been eagerly taken up by a man named Edward Biber, of Wurtemberg, who was employed in the school lately founded by Krusi. This man had arrived at Yverdun after Pestalozzi's departure, had stayed but one year there, and had then gone to Saint Gallen, where he wrote, in Niederer's justification, a pamphlet, entitled: *Notes for the biography of Henry Pestalozzi, and for the better understanding of his late work: Experiences of my Life.*

Biber was entirely devoid of tact or feeling; his pamphlet is little more than a long insult to the venerable philanthropist who, after devoting himself for eighty years to the service of humanity, was ending his days in misfortune. Pestalozzi's character, religion and educational doctrine, were alike attacked, and as the pamphlet contained expressions which were known to have been used by Niederer in his anger, people readily enough believed that he, if not actually the writer, was at least the instigator of it, whereas no one was more genuinely indignant with the infamous production. In spite of the differences which had arisen between Pestalozzi and Niederer, the latter had never ceased to express respect and admiration for his former master, and yet he was the man most deeply wronged by Biber's pamphlet, for which, indeed, certain recent biographers still hold him responsible.

Pestalozzi's grief was naturally very great when he found the work he held so dear thus spitefully attacked; but when, in a notice of Biber's work in a Zurich paper, he read: "It seems that Pestalozzi is like certain animals who hide at sight of the stick; otherwise he would reply to these attacks," he was almost beside himself with indignation, crying, "I can bear this no longer."

Utterly prostrated by this terrible blow, he fell seriously ill. To his doctor, Doctor Stæbli of Brugg, he said: "I feel that I am going to die; but I must have six weeks longer to refute these shameful calumnies."

The doctor sought to reassure him, but strictly forbade him to work in the state in which he then was. The old man, however, took no notice of his orders, and forthwith set to work to write his answer. But the little strength he had left soon failed him, and the pen fell from his hands.

The following lines, written during these last days of suffering, were found on his table:

> "My sufferings are inexpressible; no man could understand the sorrow of my soul. People despise me as a feeble, infirm old man; they no longer think me good for anything; I do but excite their derision. It is not, however, for myself that I am troubled, but for my idea, which shares my fate. My most sacred possession, the belief that has inspired the whole of my long and painful life, is scornfully trodden under foot. To die is nothing; I even welcome death, for I am weary, and would fain be at rest; but to have lived a life of sacrifice and to have failed, to see my work destroyed and go down with it to the grave, this is frightful, more frightful than I can express. Would that I could weep, but my tears refuse to flow.
>
> "And you, my poor ones, the oppressed, despised and rejected of this world; you too, alas! will be forsaken and ridiculed, even as I am. The rich, in their abundance, care nothing for you; they may, indeed, cast you a morsel of bread, but nothing more, since they too are poor, having nothing but their gold. As for inviting you to the spiritual banquet, and making men of you, the world has not yet thought of it, nor will it for a long time. But God who is in heaven, God who cares even for His sparrows, God will not forget you, but will comfort you, even as He will comfort and not forget me."

By thus insisting on writing in spite of his weakness and suffering, the old man had several times taken cold, and thus considerably increased the gravity of his symptoms. His complaint was gravel, and as the excessive pain necessitated frequent surgical aid, the doctor wished to have his patient near him at Brugg.

Gottlieb Pestalozzi accordingly hired a small room[1] in the principal street of the little town, and when everything was prepared, although there was thick snow on the ground, took the old man there, well wrapped up, in a closed sledge. This was on the 15th of February, 1827.

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[1] The room in which Pestalozzi died is now the post-office.

The next day Mr. Lippe arrived from Lenzburg to see his old friend, but found him unconscious. In the morning a paroxysm of frightful pain had been followed by delirium, which had ceased about noon, since when he had not spoken.

By four o'clock the next morning the crisis was past, and the old man regained consciousness. He seemed easy and composed, helped to arrange his bed, and talked to those about him for nearly an hour.

"My children," he said, "you cannot carry out my work, but you can do good to those about you, you can give land to the poor to cultivate. As for me, I am soon to read in the book of truth. I forgive my enemies; may they find peace, even as I am now about to find the peace which is eternal. I should have been glad to live six weeks longer to finish my writing, and yet I thank God for taking me away from this earthly life. You, my children, remain quietly at Neuhof, and look for your happiness in your home."[1]

About six o'clock Doctor Stæbli arrived. There was no fever, no pain, but he saw that the end was near; indeed, little more than an hour afterwards, Pestalozzi, with a smile on his lips, quietly breathed his last. "He seemed to be smiling at the angel who had come to fetch him," was the testimony of those who were present. His grandson's wife had watched over him tenderly to the last.

Pestalozzi's great-grandson, Colonel Charles Pestalozzi, of the Zurich Polytechnic School, who at this time was not more than three years old, relates that he has often heard his mother talk of his great-grandfather's last days. Always kind and thoughtful, patient when suffering most keenly, cheerful and affectionate the moment he was free from pain, grateful for the least attention, and calmly happy even at the moment of death, he had borne his sufferings with a fortitude that she never wearied of recalling.

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[1] Several biographers place this speech before the removal from Neuhof. It is an open question. We have taken the view which seemed, after careful investigation, to be the best.

On the 19th, the mortal remains of the great philosopher and philanthropist were committed to the ground in the village of Birr, near Neuhof. The news of his death had scarcely reached Aarau, and people did not expect the interment to take place so soon; the communications, moreover, were almost interrupted by the snow. The consequence was that many who loved and respected Pestalozzi were absent from the ceremony, though the inhabitants of the neighbourhood were there in great numbers.

The coffin was borne by schoolmasters, and was followed by Gottlieb and a few relations and friends, villagers and children being the only other mourners. As this simple procession entered the churchyard, it was met by some eighty village schoolmasters of the district chanting a psalm. In the course of his address, Pastor Steiger said: "If ever Pestalozzi was truly great, it was in his last days. Why could we not all be witnesses of his patience and resignation, of the calm trust with which he relinquished the world and all his earthly hopes?" The simple, touching ceremony closed with a hymn that had been expressly composed for the occasion by Pastor Frœhlich.

When Pestalozzi had been asked what sort of monument should be raised to him, he had replied: "A rough, unhewn stone, such as I myself have always been." He had asked to be buried at Birr, near the school, without pomp, and followed by children and peasants. This last wish at least had been fulfilled. His grave was in a narrow strip of the churchyard, lying between the church and the school, and for nineteen years was marked by a single rose-tree. As it had then become necessary to rebuild the school, the Great Council of Aargau, feeling that the country still owed a debt to the memory of its immortal benefactor, decided to honour him by some more fitting memorial. A side of the new school was chosen for the purpose, and as the buildings still adjoined the churchyard, although a new grave was necessary, it was only a few steps distant from the old one.

The inauguration took place on the 12th of January, 1846, the hundredth anniversary of Pestalozzi's birth, in the presence of delegates from the Council of Public Instruction, the various school-commissions, and many other public bodies. A great crowd of other people were also present. The singing of several choral societies alternated with the sound of the church bells, whilst the coffin was being raised from its original resting-place, and lowered, covered with wreaths, into the new tomb.[1]

The memorial is plain and suitable : above the grave is a paved space enclosed by an iron railing, and in the middle of the wall a niche containing the bust of Pestalozzi, below which is the following inscription :

Here Rests

HENRY PESTALOZZI ;

Born at Zurich, the 12th of January, 1746,
Died at Brugg, the 17th of February, 1827.

Saviour of the poor at Neuhof, at Stanz the father of orphans, at Burgdorf and Munchenbuchsee founder of the popular school, at Yverdun the educator of humanity ; man. Christian, and citizen. All for others, nothing for himself, Peace to his ashes.

TO OUR FATHER PESTALOZZI
Grateful Aargau.

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[1] The same day witnessed the inauguration of a still worthier memorial to this faithful friend of the poor.

Pestalozzi's friends had thought that the best way of celebrating his jubilee would be to found at last at Neuhof the poor-school he had so long dreamed of. A printed appeal, circulated in Switzerland and abroad, had at once brought in a considerable sum of money, but unfortunately this first generous impulse had soon been checked by the political and religious discords which were at that time troubling the Confederation. Not being in a position then to purchase Neuhof, the committee had been obliged to begin operations on some land at Olsberg, near Rheinfelden, the property of the State. There, under the name of the *Pestalozzi Foundation*, a poor-school was established for children of both sexes, with separate divisions for Catholics and Protestants. It has lately been proposed to enlarge this foundation by the addition of a training-school for forming teachers for similar institutions, and of an establishment for reforming vicious children.

French Switzerland ought also to have had her *Pestalozzi Foundation*. An appeal sent out from Yverdun had been everywhere well received, and success seemed certain ; in consequence, however, of the revolution of 1845, and the resignation of the Protestant ministers, party feeling ran so high in the canton that each side, dreading the political and religious tendency of the other, insisted on having the direction of the establishment in its own hands, and this being impossible, the enterprise had to be abandoned.

CHAPTER XVII.

PESTALOZZI'S LAST WRITINGS.

The "Song of the Swan." The "Experiences of My Life." Discourse read at Langenthal.

WE were unwilling to interrupt the sad story just concluded to speak of the works written by Pestalozzi during the two last years of his life.

The *Song of the Swan* and the *Experiences* were originally intended as parts of the same work, but the author soon decided to keep them separate; and it was well that he did so, for the first would certainly have suffered from being connected with the second.

In the life of Pestalozzi by J. Paroz, there is an interesting summary of the *Song of the Swan* in the form of a discourse supposed to be spoken by Pestalozzi; but any such reconstruction is necessarily too artificial and too arbitrary to leave the reader's judgment thoroughly unbiassed. We think it best not to attempt anything of the sort, but to give the author's principal ideas in his own words. In this way, by a series of quotations, we shall be able to convey some idea of this supreme appeal, addressed by the octogenarian to his contemporaries in vain, but from which posterity may yet profit.

THE SONG OF THE SWAN.[1]

Preface.

"For half a century I have been seeking with unwearied activity to simplify the elementary instruction of the people, and find for it such a path as Nature follows in developing and perfecting a man's various powers. During all this time, despite my many weaknesses, I have worked zealously for this one end. My want of skill has indeed often shown itself in the conception and execution of my enterprises, and has brought upon me endless sorrows; but till now I have borne them with unfailing patience, and without ever interrupting my serious efforts towards my end.

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[1] In both Cotta's and Seyffarth's editions.

"It is impossible that during such a life I should not have made important experiments in the subject of my investigations, and that I should not have arrived at certain results to which the friends of humanity and education cannot be indifferent.

"I am now eighty years old, an age at which a man is wrong not to think of himself every day as on his death-bed. I have felt this more than ever for some time past, and hence I am unwilling any longer to put off publishing an account of my experiments, an account which will be as clear and precise as I can make it, and will tell not only of what has succeeded, but also of what has failed. This will explain the title of my work.

"Friends of humanity! take it for what it is, and do not expect more literary graces from me than I am able to give. My life has produced nothing complete or perfect, nor can my writing do so either. Such as it is, grant it an attentive examination, and whenever you happen upon a truth that you think likely to benefit mankind, do what you can for it, less for my sake than for that of the end I have in view. I ask nothing better than to be put on one side, and replaced by others, in all questions that others understand better than I, so that they may be enabled to serve humanity better than I have ever been able to do.

"I know not if it be necessary to add that a man of my age repeats himself often and deliberately, and that when his end is near, nay, even on his death-bed, he cannot repeat himself enough, nor weary of speaking of what he has in his heart till his last breath. But nobody takes this amiss; most people indeed are touched by it. I hope then that, considering my age and position, I shall be forgiven if in the following pages I repeat myself too often, and forget many important matters which in other circumstances I should not have forgotten.

"As for those who might like to have a more complete knowledge of my educational experiments and institutions, I must beg them to read the history of my undertakings, which is to appear with the present volume."

I. (Passages taken from pages 1 to 9.)

"Examine everything, and hold fast to that which is good! If anything better has matured in you, add it in truth and love to what in truth and love I am attempting to give you here!

"The idea of elementary education, to which I have devoted my life, consists in re-establishing the course of Nature, and in developing and improving the tendencies and powers of humanity.

"But what is human nature? It is, at bottom, that which distinguishes the man from the animal, that which should predominate and control whatever they have in common. Thus elementary education must aim at developing heart, mind, and body in such a way as to bring the flesh into subjection to the spirit.

"Now it is evident that this development must follow a certain course, that this course must be the course of Nature, and that it is regulated by immutable laws.

"Indeed, however great the diversities of men may be, they do not in any way affect either the unity of human nature or the universality of the laws which govern its development.

"These laws apply to the whole of a man's nature, and serve to maintain the necessary harmony between his heart, his intellect, and his physical powers. Any educational method which neglects either of these three sides, does but encourage a partial development. False to Nature, it produces no real and lasting results; it is as sounding brass or tinkling cymbal, and exercises a fatal influence on the harmony of the natural development.

"The idea of elementary education involves the equilibrium of a man's powers, and the equilibrium of the powers involves the natural development of each of them. Each power develops according to the particular laws of its nature, which laws are not the same for heart, mind and body.

"And yet all human powers may be developed in the simplest way by use. Thus a man lays the foundation of his moral life of love and faith, by the practice of these virtues; of his intellectual life of thought, by thinking; of his industrial life, by making use of his physical powers.

"Indeed, man is impelled by the very nature of the powers he possesses to use and train them, and thus to develop and improve them, as far at least as they are susceptible of development and improvement. These powers exist at first but in germ, but the desire to use them increases with every successful attempt, though it decreases and sometimes disappears with failure, especially if the failure should cause suffering.

"Further, the idea of elementary education consists in so regulating the use of the different powers that every effort shall succeed, and none fail; and this must be the case no less with the intellectual and physical than with the moral powers.

"The natural means for this early education are to be looked for in the enlightened love, faith, and tenderness of parents, made wise by a knowledge of all the conquests humanity has won.

"The method of Nature is in its principle holy and Divine, but if left to itself, it is often disturbed and perverted by the predominance of the animal instincts. Our duty, our heart's chief desire, the aim of our faith and wisdom, should be to keep it truly human, to quicken it by means of the Divine element within us.

"Let us now examine the natural and fundamental means of human development, from the three sides of the moral life, the intellectual life, and the industrial life."

II.—The Moral Life. (Pages 9 to 15.)

"The first cares of a mother for her child are for its physical needs; she satisfies these with unfailing tenderness, enjoys the child's contentment, smiles at it with love, and receives an answering smile of love, trust, and gratitude. These are the first manifestations of the moral and religious development.

"But the child must also feel the peace which proceeds from satisfied needs; this peace of the soul is indeed an essential condition of the moral development. It is no sooner replaced by anxiety and trouble than love, trust, and gratitude give way to selfishness, pride, and other evil passions.

"This want of peace in a child's soul often results from its needs not being promptly satisfied; after a time, expectation becomes painful, and irritates the child, so that when at last the long looked-for satisfaction arrives, it no longer awakens a quiet pleasure, the source of love, trust, and gratitude, but merely appeals to the violent instincts of an animal.

"This discontent in a child often proceeds too from quite an opposite cause, from the excess of care, that is, with which we try to procure it pleasures by anticipating all its wants and encouraging its pride or animal tastes. In this way, instead of confining ourselves to satisfying real needs, we awaken a certain covetousness, which gives no peace. And as this covetousness cannot always be satisfied, the child is necessarily exposed to disappointments and refusals, which not only sour its temper, but stop the development of good in its heart.

"A good mother tries to avoid each of these two ways of destroying her child's contentment, and is enabled to do so by her tenderness and by the natural tact of her maternal instinct. She is much helped, too, when the circumstances of the home are moderately comfortable, by the ordinary conditions of daily life.

"Unfortunately, however, it too often happens that a mother's tenderness is paralyzed by vice and her tact ruined by error and prejudice, and that the circumstances of the home are either so straitened as to prevent the immediate satisfaction of all the child's wants, or so easy that there is a temptation to anticipate them, often indeed to exaggerate them, and increase its real wants by artificial ones.

"When the mother succeeds in keeping the child contented, the benefit is felt by every member of the family. The home becomes a centre of moral and religious life, and the child, whose trust in its parents nothing can shake, loves what they love, believes what they believe, and worships the same God and Saviour.

"But when this peace is wanting from the very cradle, the home, troubled in every part, is no longer a sanctuary of peace and happiness, and its good influence on the moral and religious development disappears."

III.—The Intellectual Life. (Pages 15 to 23.)

"The starting-point of thought is sense-impression, the direct impression, that is, produced by the world on our internal and external senses. Thus the power of thinking is formed and developed first of all by the impressions of the moral world upon our moral sense and by those of the physical world upon our bodily senses.

"These impressions, acting on the understanding of the child, give him his first ideas, and at the same time awaken in him the desire to express them, by signs first, then by words.

"To speak, we must have not only ideas, but practised and supple organs. And further, we can only speak clearly and exactly of those things from which we have received clear and exact impressions.

"To teach a child to talk, then, we must first make him see, hear, and touch many things, and especially things which please him, so that he may readily give his attention to them; we must also make him observe them in order, observing each thoroughly before he proceeds to another. At the same time he must have constant practice in putting his impressions into words. All this is what a good mother does for her child when it is beginning to speak.

"Afterwards a foreign or dead language may be learned differently; partly because the organs of speech have already been trained, partly because most of the fundamental ideas are already there, and lastly, because the mother-tongue supplies the child with a point of comparison.

"But before a child can compare things and exercise his judgment about them, his thought must also have practice in the two other chief elements of human knowledge, number and form.

"The fundamental elements, then, that serve to develop the power of thought are language, number, and form, and it is the business of education to present these elements to the child's mind in the simplest possible manner, and in psychological and progressive order."

Pestalozzi here places the following sentence, which he had written in 1824, and which shows that the old man had retained certain illusions to the end:

"What was done at Burgdorf, and what has since been done, even more thoroughly, at Yverdun, for the elementary study of number and form, has sufficed, in spite of many dangers, to keep the latter establishment from ruin; and even now, that it seems near its end, I am still, thanks to this spark, inclined to hope great things from it."

IV.—THE INDUSTRIAL LIFE. (Pages 23 to 26.)

"Art, practical knowledge, bodily skill, whatever in short enables a man to make what he has conceived in his mind, is what we call the industrial life. What are its fundamental elements? How may they be developed?

"Its fundamental elements are two: the power of the thought within, the practical skill of the senses and limbs without. To be completely useful, it must be the outcome of the harmonious development of heart, mind, and body. We have already spoken of the two first; it remains for us now to consider the fundamental elements of physical development.

"Just as elementary exercises in number and form are necessary as training for the intellectual life, so elementary exercises in art and practical work are a necessary part of that physical training which is essential to success in the industrial life. Technical apprenticeship is but one particular form of this training.

"And further, just as our moral and intellectual powers are naturally inclined to be active, and attract us to whatever exercises them, so our industrial powers have a similar natural tendency, and attract us to whatever exercises and develops them.

"The physical instinct which leads us to use our senses and limbs is generally connected with our animal nature, and needs no assistance from us. But this instinct must be subordinated to the moral and intellectual elements which constitute the superiority of human nature. To bring about this subordination is the essential work of education.

"The exercise of the physical powers in due subordination to the moral and intellectual powers results naturally from the discipline of a well-regulated and laborious family life.

"This exercise, however, varies enormously with the particular circumstances of each family, but even amidst this diversity is to be found the general law of all human development. Thus the child always begins by fixing his attention and observing; he then proceeds to imitate, at first slavishly, but presently with more and more freedom, till at last invention comes, and he produces spontaneously."

V.—My Idea of Elementary Education. (Pages 26 to 137.)

"It consists in developing, according to the natural law, the child's various powers, moral, intellectual, and physical, with such subordination as is necessary to their perfect equilibrium.

"This equilibrium alone can produce a peaceful, happy life, and one likely to profit the general welfare. Piety, faith, and love bring a man peace, and are indeed its conditions, for without these virtues the highest development of intellect, art or industry brings no rest, but leaves the man full of trouble, uneasiness, and discontent.

"As an individual, the man who is not at peace with himself generally feels his misery and weakness. But as a member of a whole, of a party, of a sect, he no longer feels his position; he is blinded, dazzled. He thinks himself strong in the strength of others, skilful with their skill. Faith in a majority, a party, a sect, takes the place of faith in himself; loyalty to a society takes the place of virtue, public opinion that of truth.

"Loyalty, whether it be to a religious sect or a political party, comes rather from the flesh than the spirit; it is the business of elementary education to correct and weaken it by harmoniously developing the personal powers in a really religious direction.

"I now come to consider the idea of elementary education from the point of view of the means of instruction. From its very nature, it demands the general simplification of its means, which simplification was the starting-point of all the educational labours of my life. At first I desired nothing else, but merely sought to render the ordinary means of instruction for the people so simple as to permit of their being employed in every family. And so, in every branch of popular knowledge or talent, I set to work to organize a graduated series of exercises, the starting-point of which was within everybody's comprehension, and the unbroken action of which, always exercising the child's powers without exhausting them, resulted in a continuous, easy, and attractive progress, in which knowledge and the application of knowledge were always intimately connected.

"There exist general laws for the development of the human powers and for their application in every direction of their activity, but there is also a great diversity in the methods of their development, according to the objects to which they are applied, and according to the position, faculties, and character of individuals.

"It is the duty of elementary education to reconcile these diversities with the natural and general law, and to bring about a complete development of the different powers, whatever may be the particular methods of their application. It does this by making every step the child takes complete and perfect before allowing him to take another. Thus the child contracts the habit and the need of doing well all he does, and of tending towards perfection, not only in the matter of his instruction, but in his life generally.

"Before proceeding to point out the consequences which result from this point of view, there is one further question that I must consider: Is not my idea of elementary education a dream? Can it be made the foundation of practical work? On all sides, I am told, people are asking: Where has it really been realized?

"I answer: Everywhere and nowhere. Everywhere partially, nowhere completely.

"It nowhere exists as a method that has been fully organized and applied to everything. There is no school or institute whose organization is entirely elementary.

"The knowledge and talents of the human race, even of its highest and best representatives, are and will always remain incomplete and fragmentary. There are not, and never will be, conditions admitting of the complete realization of the great idea of elementary education. Human nature itself offers an insurmountable obstacle to it, since the weakness of our nature, the Divine element of which is hampered by the desires of the flesh, does not allow us to look for complete perfection in anything. And what is true in the case of individual men is still more true in the case of the general education of the human race. No institution, whatever its resources may be, will ever be able to realize and spread over a country an elementary method of instruction and education at once general, complete, and practical. In this respect the idea, it is true, is not realizable, and is but a dream.

"And yet, it has already been partially realized, not only in institutions and schools, but in families; it has already been the cause of much good and much progress. At all times and in every country it has been the condition and the means of the harmonious development of man's powers, and of the supremacy of the spirit over the flesh. It is the condition and means of true civilization, of the improvement of humanity, an improvement which is our essential and necessary object, for which we shall never cease working, and which we dare not declare to be impossible. In this respect the idea of elementary education is no longer unrealizable; it is no longer a dream, and we must strive for it unceasingly, as we strive for good and perfection.

"My idea of elementary education was suggested to me by the sight of the evils I saw about me, evils resulting from the routine of the ordinary education. Everywhere the course pursued was in direct opposition to that of Nature, everywhere the flesh predominated over the spirit, and the Divine element was ignored; everywhere selfishness and the passions were made the motives of action, and everywhere mechanical habits took the place of intelligent spontaneity.

"I had no other strength in me but that of a heart full of compassion and love for my fellow-men; I had neither ability, talent nor practical skill. Against me were old institutions and habits, the idleness, interests, and passions of people cleverer than myself. I was like a child struggling with grown men.

"The idea which I felt to be my strength was but an impracticable dream; impracticable, that is, in proportion to the blindness and hardness of men governed by routine and selfishness, and by indifference to progress and the spiritual interests of humanity. In certain of its applications, and for certain minds, this idea has already ceased to be a dream, and the more civilization advances, the more of a reality will it become, though it can never reach absolute perfection.

"It is life that educates. Such is the principle which has guided me in all my experiments in elementary education, the results of which we will now consider from the moral, intellectual, and industrial points of view.

"On the moral side, elementary education is connected with the home; for its chief methods are to be found in the domestic affections, those natural and instinctive sentiments that have been implanted by God in humanity as the eternal starting-points of love and faith, or, in other words, of morality and religion. In our institute, it is true, our experiments did not begin while the child was yet in the cradle. And yet the simpleness of our methods would have allowed us to use them for the moral development of much younger children than those entrusted to us. The child loves and believes before thinking and acting; the influences of home captivate him and develop in him an inner sense of his own moral strength. One certain result of our experience, and one in which many noble men have rejoiced besides ourselves, is that the methods of our elementary education, which enabled each child to hand on his small stock of acquirements to others, showed in a thousand ways their influence on the moral development, and caused a trust and brotherly love to reign in our house which, with the artificial and unnatural methods of ordinary education, would have been almost impossible.

"On the intellectual side, it is again life that educates; for life develops, in turn, the power of receiving impressions, the power of speaking, and the power of thinking.

"The power of receiving impressions by observation and experience furnishes the child with ideas and sentiments.

"The power of speaking is developed by use; it enables the child to make himself understood and to understand others. The power to speak does not proceed from the knowledge of the language; it is rather the knowledge of the language which proceeds from the power to speak.

"Speech is not only a result of life, but a condition of life. This is the reason why its development varies with social position. The methods of teaching then must vary too, and be determined by the resources and needs of earthly life. But there are other needs which necessitate a higher development; man does not live by bread alone; every child needs a religious development, needs to know how to pray to God with love and faith and in simpleness of heart. This need is a privilege which ennobles the very humblest, and, since it can only be satisfied by means of language and thought, develops them both morally and intellectually.

"When the power of speaking does not grow out of life itself, it neither develops the powers of the mind nor produces anything but an empty verbiage. This is an evil from which all classes of society are at present suffering, the lowest as well as the highest.

"The power of receiving impressions and the power of thinking are separated by a wide gulf, which can only be bridged by the power of speaking.

"Just as the child must not speak of anything but what he has himself experienced, so he must not, and indeed cannot, examine his thought until he has clearly expressed it in words. Grammar is practice in the power of thinking, a philosophical study of the thought itself as well as of the form of the language which expresses it. The child must be thoroughly acquainted with this form first; then only is he in a position to examine and study it, and learn foreign and dead languages.

"A child soon learns to speak a foreign language with an illiterate person who merely talks to him without any attempt at instruction, whereas he does not learn to do so with a skilled teacher who adopts the mechanical, grammatical method.

"It is also in life itself that we must look for the means of developing the power of thinking.

"When a child's sense-impressions have resulted in clear and settled ideas, and when he can express these ideas in speech, he feels the need of examining, separating, and comparing them; this is a pleasure to which life itself invites him, and in which he finds the surest aid for the development of his judgment and power of thinking.

"To encourage, facilitate, and strengthen this development has at all times been the aim of education, though it has paid little heed to the laws of Nature and of life.

"At one time it has put before the child a mass of ready-made judgments that his memory alone has been able to grasp, and which, instead of strengthening his thought, have allowed it to wither in inactivity. At another time, under the name of logic, it has offered him a system, more subtle than clear, of the eternal rules which regulate human thought; rules, however, which are but a closed book for the child who does not yet possess the power of thinking.

"The best elementary exercises for developing the child's power of comparing and judging, and thus strengthening his thought, are those in number and form. But if the study of number and form is to have any real educational value, it must not consist in shortened, mechanical methods, but in a series of exercises so well graduated that the child may take pleasure in the study, and succeed in it; that his thinking powers may be always active; that his judgments may be really his own, and that all he does may be closely connected with his real everyday life.

"On the industrial or artistic side, it is also life that educates. The industrial power comprises two elements: the one, intellectual and interior, which is but the power of thought developed by the practical study of language, number, and form; the other, physical and exterior, which is but the power of the senses and limbs developed by use. These different developments must be in keeping with the idea of elementary education, that is, with the method of Nature, and must result from a connected and carefully graduated series of exercises founded on the tendencies, needs, and natural tastes of the child.

"The exercises intended to develop the industrial or artistic power must also be determined by the general circumstances of the child's life; for again it is life that educates.

"With regard to art and industry then, it is in the conditions and needs of actual life, and in the heart of his family, that the child must first learn how to use and improve his powers.

"The lesson is much easier and much more fruitful and valuable in those families which have to work hard for a livelihood than in those richer homes where the need of work is not felt, and where the child's help is not required.

"Thus the idea of elementary education applies to the physical powers as well as to those of the heart and mind; it encourages the child's activity from the very first; it leads him to produce results which are really his own, and it gives him at the same time both the power and the will to rise without slavishly copying others.

"It is because these principles of education are still so widely ignored that we see so many people entirely without skill, taste or originality. This is why ninety-nine hundredths of the world unthinkingly follow the stream of custom or fashion, incapable of producing anything by themselves; this, too, is why, even in the upper classes, the pleasure of luxury is much more a matter of vanity than a matter of taste."

The foregoing is a condensation of the first third of the *Song of the Swan*, with all unnecessary developments omitted. We have not space, however, to treat the rest of the book in the same way, nor indeed would it be necessary, since the other parts have far less importance. Farther on, too, the order and connection of the ideas are sometimes hard to follow, repetitions abound, developments are carried too far, and the style generally loses much of its force. But in spite of these defects, the *Song of the Swan* is full, to the end, of true, original, and pregnant ideas. A man who could reproduce them in their logical order with clearness and eloquence would make an admirable treatise on education.

We can do no more than glance at the remaining two-thirds of the book, quoting a few of the most striking ideas:

"A child accustomed from his earliest years to pray, think, and work, is already more than half educated.

"The general effect of the methods employed by the education of our time is rather to send us forth into unknown regions than to develop that which is within us, and of which, as independent beings, we stand in need.

"Any particular knowledge or skill is, in itself, of little value as a means of development and education; it is by combining and acting on each other that they give harmony to our nature. It is the early and harmonious cultivation of all branches of activity that develops our moral, intellectual, and physical individuality.

"If the religious element does not penetrate the whole education, it has but little influence on the life, and remains formal and isolated.

"Religion is not an effect of what we do, but of the Divine element within us, and of God's grace.

"Elementary education, by developing all a man's natural powers, develops also, and from the very first, the real religious element in his nature, and is thus in perfect accord with Christianity."

In writing the *Song of the Swan*, Pestalozzi had been actuated by an ardent desire to save from his own fate the fundamental idea of the educational reform he was urging on humanity. Fearing to see it involved in the discredit which the failure of the establishments he had founded had brought upon himself, he endeavours to show that this failure had been entirely his own fault; and in support of this view, he gives, starting from his earliest education, the story of his life. It was in this part of the book that his first biographers found their information, information true and valuable enough in itself, but so fragmentary that for forty years,—till Morf's work appeared that is,—there was no complete account of the great educational reformer.[1]

In the course of his account of the Burgdorf institute, Pestalozzi says:

"I must say here openly what, during my years of misfortune, I have often and often said secretly to myself, that at the very first step I took in Burgdorf Castle I was lost. I was indeed embarking on a career that could only end in misfortune, seeing that the post I was to occupy demanded the very strength and administrative talents I so terribly lacked."

A little farther on, after having compared his institutes to a tower of Babel, he adds:

"This confusion, so fatal to the spirit of our work, was bound at last to come to an end; and this being so, I feel very strongly that the fall of my establishments at Yverdun, since it gave me the opportunity I so much wanted of placing my work once more upon a clear basis, should be looked upon as a piece of good fortune, and not at all as a proof of the worthlessness of my undertaking and of my inability to produce any useful results."

The last page of the book well sums up its character and aim. It runs as follows:

"At this solemn moment, I dare, calmly and earnestly, to express my conviction that certain ideas connected with this great question of elementary education have ripened in me more perhaps than in most other men, more even than they would have done, but for the vicissitudes and misfortunes of my life. The results of my work, few and scattered, it is true, seem to me to be hanging like ripe fruit on the tree of my life, and I am unwilling that any hand, friendly or unfriendly, should shake them to the ground. Poor as they are, they are yet so near maturity that I feel it to be a sacred duty to do my utmost for their preservation. The hour has not yet sounded when, satisfied as to their fate, I can resign myself to repose. In the meantime this other hour has sounded, in which, full of grief and bitterness, I find myself compelled to beg that the soundness of my conception of elementary education be once more examined and put to the proof. This once done, and in such a way as is meet, I shall have nothing left to wish for. And so I close my dying strain with the words with which I began it.

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[1] Morf's work does not go beyond Burgdorf.

"Try all things, hold fast to that which is good, and if anything better has matured in you, add it to what, in love and truth, I am here attempting to give you. In any case, do not reject the work of my whole life as a thing already condemned and unworthy of further examination. It is not yet condemned, and merits most serious attention, not indeed for my sake, but for its own."

My Experiences in my Educational Establishments of Burgdorf and Yverdun. Leipzig, 1826.[1]

In writing this book, Pestalozzi's original intention was merely to give the reasons of his many misfortunes, and explain the failure of the various establishments he had founded; but his desire to justify Schmidt, and make the public share his own admiration for the man, led him into making a personal attack that was most unworthy of him, and for which it is hard not to hold Schmidt in a great measure responsible, seeing that he was the person chiefly interested, and that he exercised such a great influence over the old man's mind.

The attack, which is most unfair, is chiefly directed against the Niederers, their faults being cruelly exaggerated, while Schmidt's are more or less condoned. But even this unfairness was far from justifying Biber's venomous reply, which, as we have seen, finally hastened Pestalozzi's death.

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[1] Not in Cotta's edition, but in the fifteenth volume of Seyffarth's.

If the book were merely polemical, we should have nothing more to say about it; but happily Pestalozzi often forgets that he is pleading for Schmidt, and becomes the educational enthusiast again, and at these times he is admirable.

On the very first page he says:

> "At Burgdorf I soon had a very great number of pupils, and unfortunately a hundred times as many *belauders*. To-day all this praise and success seems to have been the work of enchantment. Intoxicated with pleasure, joy, honour, and hope, we lived in a sort of paradise, with little fear of the serpent that in every earthly paradise lays snares for the ruin of poor humanity, so weak, so vain, and so easily misled."

Pestalozzi then refers to his proved incapacity to direct or manage an institution, and declares that his own weakness and mistakes have been the cause of all his misfortunes. He also points out that such an educational establishment as he had dreamed of was, by its very nature, an impossibility,[1] and that those he had founded were, from the very first, doomed to destruction. This being so, it seems strange that he should ever have attributed his failure to the opposition which, almost from the beginning, had manifested itself between Niederer and Schmidt.

But however this may be, Pestalozzi does himself an injustice when he speaks of being utterly incapable. Was he not pre-eminently successful every time that, unchecked by material obstacles, he was able to act freely? And with regard to the education of children, were not his efforts at Neuhof in his youth, at Stanz and Burgdorf in his maturity, and even at Clendy in his old age, crowned with marvellous success?

He is also unfair to his schools when he says that they did no good. From the point of view of the elementary method, they brought about undeniable and important improvements in most branches of teaching, improvements which, carried into different countries by his pupils, gave the first impetus to a general reform of the old mechanical methods.

When Pestalozzi comes to the foundation of the poor-school at Clendy, he entirely forgets his polemical aim, and lovingly describes this last undertaking, the beginnings of which had so fully satisfied his longings. Then, after giving a few admirable precepts for the early education of the poor, and for the training of primary schoolmasters, he deplores the deviation from his principles to which he was obliged to consent at Clendy, and which finally resulted in the ruin of the establishment. This part of the book at least is full of Pestalozzi himself, and is not likely to be forgotten.

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[1] The reasons of this impossibility have been pointed out in chapter xiv.

At the end of the book, Pestalozzi gives the letter he had written to the Niederers in 1823, in which he implored them to forget the past and be reconciled to him, that he might die in peace. He concludes by saying that though the letter has had no effect, he is still of the same mind.

Before leaving the *Experiences*, we must quote the opinion of the book expressed by Blochmann, who was an assistant of Pestalozzi's from 1810 to 1816, and to whom, in a great measure, Saxony owes the excellence of her public educational establishments. The passage is taken from a memoir of Pestalozzi. We translate literally:

"In his *Experiences* he enunciates many great and striking truths. Those who have lived with him and watched his career will, I am certain, be convinced of the general soundness of his views and judgments, in spite of the two great illusions running through the book; on the one hand, that is, his injustice to himself and to the value and results of the Yverdun institute; on the other, the blind obstinacy with which he persistently over-estimates the value of Schmidt's work, and refuses to recognize the true character of the man behind his mask of fidelity and affection."

Discourse delivered at Langenthal on the 26th of April, 1826.[1]

The Helvetian Society had been formed with the threefold object of cementing the different parts of the Swiss Confederation, encouraging those virtues upon which the liberty and happiness of nations depend, and restoring some of the simplicity of former times.

Pestalozzi's work had long kept him absent from the meetings of the Society, but he still entirely sympathized with the spirit of its aim and efforts. He was, besides, one of the last survivors of that knot of enlightened and devoted patriots who, long before the French Revolution, might have carried out useful reforms in Zurich, had they but had more practical views and a better knowledge of human nature.

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[1] In the fifteenth volume of both Cotta's and Seyffarth's editions.

This conformity between the objects of the Helvetian Society, and those which he had so enthusiastically worked for in his youth, was the source of Pestalozzi's inspiration for his address at Langenthal, which is written with extraordinary force and spirit for an old man of eighty, suffering under the effects of a heavy and recent misfortune.

The author begins by painting the happiness Switzerland enjoyed after the wars that gave her her independence. At that time she was tranquil at home and respected abroad; the needs of her inhabitants were proportionate to their resources; religion, love of country, kindliness and moderation reigned in every heart; there was a certain practical equality too in the conditions, manners, and habits of life of her people, in spite of the inequality of rights that resulted from the feudal system. At that time, also, there were few very rich people and few very poor, by far the greater number of her inhabitants being peasant-proprietors.

Pestalozzi then shows the changes that this state of things gradually underwent under the influence of closer contact with foreign nations, the Reformation, and especially the introduction into Switzerland of that industrial life which draws so much capital into a country.

Wherever the larger industries have flourished, there has always been an increase of wealth and of general comfort, accompanied however by a still greater increase in the general needs, and an enormous inequality in the distribution of the wealth.

On the one hand, a few colossal fortunes have been rapidly amassed, and have given us an example of the luxurious life of great cities; on the other hand, the numbers of those who have but their hands, and are so often wanting in wisdom, foresight, and economy have been steadily increasing. As to the small proprietors that were formerly so numerous, how many of them, attracted by the golden bait of industry, have forsaken the work of the fields and no longer possess anything?

After showing that this state of things is growing worse from day to day, and is likely soon to constitute an imminent danger to social order and civilization, the author, as the only means of fighting the evil and slowly curing it, urges that elementary education shall be brought within the reach of all, since it alone can give a natural development to all a child's powers, especially his moral powers, in their application to the practical life for which he is intended.

Such, in substance, is the last work we have of Pestalozzi's. We know, it is true, that on the 21st of November of the same year, a paper of his, on the early education of children in the home, was read before the Society of Friends of Education at Brugg, but this paper has not been preserved.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF THE AUTHOR.

In relating the history of a great man to whom we are indebted for so many useful ideas, I have felt until now a very natural repugnance to speak of my own impressions, formed during the nine years that I was his pupil. Not only was I afraid of interrupting my narrative or of unduly prolonging it, but I wished first of all to place before my readers authentic documents, my master's own words, and the opinions of distinguished men far better qualified to judge of him than myself.

At the same time, the numerous publications I have had to consult would not always have enabled me to arrive at the truth, if my own personal recollections had not helped me to estimate the relative value of all these documents, at times so contradictory. Especially in writing the sad story of the decline and fall of the Yverdun institute was it important to have had a near view of men and things, so as to be able to pass over the many slanderous imputations into which passion dragged the men who were quarrelling round Pestalozzi, to the misfortune of the honourable old man.

Moreover, as I have to sum up the views, teaching, and lasting work of this extraordinary man, and as what I shall have to say will not always conform to the generally received ideas on the subject, I feel very strongly that my readers have a right to know something of the personal experience which entitles me as it were to their confidence. I not only happened to be in an exceptionally favourable position for becoming acquainted with the master's ideas and those of his principal coadjutors, but I am to-day, probably, the last survivor of those who enjoyed the like privilege; and feeling that I have in my possession a most sacred trust, I hold it to be my duty not to let it perish with me.

Born in 1802, at Yverdun, where my father, a French refugee, had married and settled, I entered Pestalozzi's school in 1808, after having been prepared by one of the under-masters for the elementary class, by some preliminary sense-impressing exercises in number and form. I was only a day scholar at the institute; but as I stayed for lunch, and often slept there, I was well acquainted with the working of the interior.

My first impression as I went into my class-room was a disagreeable one. The room was very untidy, and the furniture and other things of such a primitive kind as to-day can hardly be imagined. There were tallow candles, for instance, without candlesticks or snuffers, and just held by a twisted wire stuck into a piece of wood. The language and cries, too, of all these Germans grated on my ear, and their manners seemed so strange that I felt as if I had suddenly been plunged into an atmosphere of gross vulgarity.

But this impression was of short duration. I was very soon won over by Pestalozzi's gentle kindness, by his keen yet tender look, and by the cordiality which seemed to pervade the house. I was soon caught, too, by the infectious good humour of my companions, and the almost passionate eagerness with which they did most of their work. The following fact, which to-day I can hardly understand, proves that I was very quickly captivated by the charms of Pestalozzi's elementary education. I was not quite seven years old, and yet when the winter came on, and I was obliged to get up very early and set off before it was light to the other end of the town in order to be present at the first lesson at six o'clock, I never dreamed of complaining.

When Pestalozzi met one of his young pupils in the corridors, he would lay his hand caressingly on his hair, saying: "You, too, mean to be wise and good, don't you?" Then he would talk to him of his parents and God, often ending with a few words about the necessity of putting ourselves into harmony with Nature, always good and beautiful, like its Maker. I did not always quite understand these little talks, but the impression that remained was a good one. In the junior class in which I was placed, the teaching was given in French, although during my first years at the institute the mother-tongue of most of the pupils, masters, and servants was German. Their language, tastes, and habits regulated the whole of the internal life at the Castle;

it was, in short, a German-Swiss household transplanted into French Switzerland. Every one was obliged to speak French at certain hours of the day, at other times all had to speak German. In this way every pupil became more or less quickly accustomed to the use of a foreign tongue; but, on the other hand, there resulted a sort of mixture of the two languages which was not very good for either of them.

During my first four or five years at the institute, I was too young to observe anything of Pestalozzi's doctrine; my childish impressions, which were very favourable, alone remain. I took pleasure in nearly all my lessons, especially in natural history, geography, mental arithmetic, elementary geometry, singing, and drawing. I have, moreover, preserved an affectionate and grateful remembrance not only of Pestalozzi, but of most of the other masters, who looked after us with so much kindness in our lessons, games, and walks, and especially in our mountain excursions.

These excursions in the Jura were a source of great delight to us. They were arranged to suit the ages of the different classes, and as soon as I was seven I began to take part in them. Our masters, of whom my favourites were Krusi and de Muralt, looked after us with almost motherly solicitude, making frequent halts to rest our little legs, refreshing us, when we were tired, with a few drops of spirit on a piece of sugar, and now and then, when the distance was too great, procuring some rustic conveyance for us, in which we would sing gaily as we passed through the villages, where the peasants often gave us fruit.

As soon as we got to the high mountain pastures under the pines, we lost our feeling of fatigue, and fell to playing games or collecting herbs and minerals. We often gathered at some good point of view to sing the wild, simple, Alpine melodies our masters loved to teach us. To-day, after more than sixty years, I can recall these songs as clearly as in those early days when I first sang them, and they still seem very beautiful to me.

On returning from these excursions, the pupils had to describe them, either orally or in writing, according to their ages. There was generally a great deal to say, as our attention was always carefully drawn to everything likely to prove instructive. These excursions were, in fact, practical lessons in natural history and geography.

Pestalozzi took a singular pleasure in watching the games of his pupils, which he considered of very great importance, his idea being that children when not at work ought to enjoy themselves, and that a state of total inactivity is bad, both physically and morally. If he noticed a child taking no part in the games during play-time, he could seldom rest till he had tried to find him some other amusement.

In this connection an incident comes back to my memory which did not strike me particularly at the time, but which I now feel to have been exceedingly characteristic. One day, when a fire of sticks had been lighted in the garden, the elder pupils amused themselves by leaping over the flames through the smoke, Pestalozzi eagerly encouraging them. When the flames had died down, and little but hot embers and smoke remained, the little ones leaped in their turn. But the scene had other witnesses, for the little girls of the Niederer institute, the garden of which joined that of the Castle, were looking through the palings at the beautiful flames and happy leapers. No sooner did Pestalozzi see them than he went and fetched them, and they too were soon jumping over the remains of the fire. Never was delight so cheaply purchased!

As soon as I was twelve years old I began, thanks to a special combination of circumstances, to fix my attention on what was called "the method," in which I betrayed an interest that was far beyond my years.

My parents, who were themselves admirers of Pestalozzi, kept up friendly relations not only with him and his wife, but with his principal assistants. My mother, who in her anxiety for my progress was anxious to be able to follow my lessons, set to work to learn German, and with such great zeal that she soon mastered its difficulties. She even published translations of several German works, partly to add something to our modest resources, and partly to have more to spend on my education. It was in this way that she came to translate *Leonard and Gertrude.*

Pestalozzi himself took great interest in her work, and used to come to our house nearly every day to examine it; for my mother never fair-copied anything without first consulting him. As she thoroughly understood the old man's Zurich dialect, she was able to act as interpreter for the many French visitors who wanted to discuss his views, and so he was in the habit of bringing anybody with him to whom he particularly wished to explain them. I remember, among others, Jullien of Paris, the author of two large volumes on *Pestalozzi's Mind and Method.*

About the same time Miss Rath, the distinguished painter to whom Geneva owes the museum which bears her name, came to Yverdun to paint Pestalozzi's portrait. As she was intimate with my mother's sister, she stayed with us, and it was in our house that Pestalozzi sat to her.

Also when Mr. Delbruck, the private tutor of the Prussian princes, came to stay at Yverdun, for the purpose of studying the method, my parents willingly consented to receive him into their house.

The result of all this was that for several years our drawing-room was one of the places where the Pestalozzian doctrine was most eagerly expounded and discussed, either by the master himself and his disciples, or by strangers who were generally well qualified to form an opinion.

I eagerly listened to these conversations and, although I did not of course understand all I heard, I can still recall a great deal.

A hundred times have I heard the master himself explain his doctrine, and each time with a different illustration. This profound philosopher had no love for philosophical language, with which he had never been familiar. Nor would he trust himself to use formulas, of which indeed he had almost a dread. His thought, which had been shaped in solitude and with no help from books, was simply the outcome of observation and reflection, and so he preferred to explain his views as he had formed them, and attached much more weight to concrete facts, particular examples, and comparisons, than to abstractions and general ideas.

On Pestalozzi's return from Basle, where he had been honoured with the gifts of princes, he at first took a child's pleasure in showing these gifts, not indeed from any feeling of personal vanity, but because they seemed to promise support to his doctrine and the plans by which he hoped to raise the condition of the people. About that time I was invited to accompany my parents to an evening gathering at his house. On that occasion, I remember, the old man wore the cross of Saint Vladimir, and we all had to taste the Austrian Emperor's Tokay; but a few days afterwards he had ceased to think about it, and the cross lay forgotten in his cupboard. Sometimes, however, when visitors of distinction arrived, he allowed himself to be persuaded to take a little extra care with his toilette, and then some one would hastily dress him, and make him as presentable as possible. We children derived not a little enjoyment from seeing him enter the class-room in his black coat and white cravat, with the famous decoration at his button-hole.

Mrs. Pestalozzi's death in 1815 has left a sad impression on me. Young as I was at the time, I was struck by the marked change it caused in the internal life of the institute. Neither the high intellectual and moral worth of this remarkable woman, nor the value to her husband's work of her tact, advice, and devotion have been sufficiently appreciated. Although an invalid and confined to her room, she continued to be a centre of attraction, and every one was fond of coming to her, if only for a few moments, sure at least of a kind word.

Of the large number of people present at the sad and imposing ceremony of her funeral, there was not one but felt a personal regret; all felt instinctively, too, that the unfortunate old man had now lost his chief support.

When the fierce hostility broke out between Schmidt and his old colleagues, my parents were greatly grieved. They fully appreciated the many good qualities of Niederer and Krusi; but having no personal interest in the quarrel, they determined to remain true to Pestalozzi, whatever happened. One day Pestalozzi brought Schmidt to our house, saying that his friend had something to read to us. I rose to go, but Schmidt insisted on my staying "because it was good for me to hear it." He then read us a fable, in which he compared Pestalozzi to a man whose house is in ruins, and who is obliged to rebuild it. Several of his elder sons are ready to help him, but only on condition that the house be built after their plans and made to suit their own convenience; one only, a younger son, offers to carry out his father's plans and implicitly follow his directions, incurring in consequence his brothers' hate. This, then, was Schmidt's view of the deplorable struggle which finally ruined Pestalozzi and his establishment.

I did not leave the institute till September, 1817, when I went with my parents to live at Versailles. My father's intention had been to send me to the Polytechnic School; but I had the misfortune to lose him in 1819, and my mother a few months afterwards. I stayed on at Versailles as a boarder in the house of one of the masters at Saint-Cyr; and, thanks to the training I had received at Pestalozzi's, made rapid progress in mathematics. I was, however, very much behind in Latin, and could only be placed in the fifth class at school; but, by the help of some private lessons, I managed in two years to work my way into the first class, where I afterwards did fairly well.

After this I left Versailles for Paris, and till 1822 attended, as a day-scholar, the special mathematical classes at the school of Louis-le-Grand. I then entered the Polytechnic School, where I found several of my old Yverdun comrades, amongst whom were Beauchatton, Jullien, and Perdonnet, all distinguished by their aptitude for mathematics.

Once, during my holidays, I went back to Yverdun, where I found the institute still existing, it is true, but only the shadow of its former self. I was only able to see Pestalozzi in the presence of Schmidt, who never quitted him, and who was the only one of my old masters left. I was taken into the room formerly occupied by Mrs. Pestalozzi, and found some young girls, under the direction of one of Schmidt's sisters, speaking English and playing the piano; but whether this was the remnant of the poor-school of Clendy, or the beginning of a training-school for schoolmistresses, I do not know. It was profoundly sad to see those about Pestalozzi still encouraging the unhappy old man in his illusions.

At this time, and at Yverdun especially, the decline of the institute had very much shaken people's faith in the views of its founder. They still had respect for his devotion, his good intentions, and his misfortunes; but it was generally believed that his reason was entirely gone, a grave error in which I myself, led away by appearances and the current of public opinion, was very nearly sharing.

In 1824, owing to ill-health, I left the Polytechnic, and went to stay with my mother's family. Shortly afterwards I accompanied Biot on his scientific mission to Italy, and then returned to Yverdun, where I married and settled in 1826.

I was almost at once made a member of the Commission charged with the direction of the public schools of the Commune. These schools were not yet influenced by Pestalozzian ideas, and still followed the old system of routine. There was one large elementary class, however, conducted on the Lancastrian method, the master who directed it having served his apprenticeship at Freiburg under Father Girard. I could not help comparing what I then saw with what I had seen in the French schools, and, before that, at the Yverdun institute. Thus the question of method was always in my mind, and soon became my favourite study.

Pestalozzi's method seemed to me to be undoubtedly the best and most natural, though I never got so far as to formulate it satisfactorily. The twelve fundamental principles discovered by Jullien did not satisfy me at all; I felt very strongly that the method was an organic whole, and that there must be some single central principle running through its various applications.

I therefore set to work to make a thorough study of Pestalozzi's views, supplementing my personal recollections from the master's own writings and the statements of those of his old assistants who had survived him.

In Yverdun itself there were still three establishments that had been founded by followers of Pestalozzi, in each of which an attempt was made to put his method into practice. These three establishments were the boys' school in the Castle, directed by Rank and Kreis; Naef's institute for deaf mutes; and the Niederers' school for girls, which at that time was in a highly flourishing condition and enjoyed a great reputation. In each of these schools I found the exercises of my childhood still in use, and followed by about the same amount of success.

But it was chiefly to Niederer that I looked for help in my researches, since it was he who had made the profoundest study of Pestalozzi's doctrine. I was well aware that the master had never entirely accepted his philosophical explanation, and this caused me to approach him with a certain mistrust; but I never grew tired of listening to him and making him repeat his explanations, which I found of the greatest service. Niederer spoke French with a strong German accent, and in ordinary conversation not very fluently; but he knew the scientific language thoroughly, and on any subject connected with his philosophical studies expressed himself with perfect ease and clearness, finding the right word as unerringly as if he had been a Frenchman.

His exposition of Pestalozzi's method generally reduced itself to three points: aim, starting-point, and connection. The aim is the development of man as a whole, with all his moral, physical, and intellectual powers, the particular lines of the development depending upon his position in the world—in other words, upon the actual life that awaits him. The starting-point of the exercises is to be found in the notions the child has already acquired, in his present tastes, needs, and powers. The connection of the exercises is the order in which they follow each other, which order must be so carefully graduated that each exercise shall give the child the desire and the power to do the next.

But as I was also anxious for information from the other collaborators of my venerated master, I decided to visit the training-schools, orphanages, and other institutions directed by followers of his, and make inquiries of all who were known to have been specially connected with him and to have witnessed his earliest efforts. In the years 1837 and 1838, therefore, I travelled about Switzerland for this purpose.

It would take too long to give the names of all those who received me with kindness and furnished me with valuable information. Of the men who had actually worked with Pestalozzi I will only mention Buss, Krusi, Lehmann, Senn, Hagnauer and Gœldi; and of the distinguished men who had been intimately acquainted with him, Fellenberg, Zschokke, Zellweger, Father Girard and Doctor Lippe.

In the course of my investigations I visited most of the training-schools, and especially those of cantons Appenzell and Thurgau.

The former, which was situated at Gais and directed by Krusi, with whom I spent a week, interested me exceedingly, presenting as it did a perfect example of a Pestalozzian school. It was while listening to Krusi's explanations that I began to see for the first time that the fundamental principle of Pestalozzi's doctrine was the law of organism.

The training-school of canton Thurgau was situated at

Kreuzlingen, on the borders of the Lake of Constance, and was under the direction of Wehrli, the former director of the poor-school founded by Fellenberg at Hofwyl. He was an intelligent, warm-hearted man, and kept those about him in a state of constant and healthy activity. But his task was not an easy one, for the director's duty was not only to see to the general instruction of the students, both Catholic and Protestant, but to give them some acquaintance with practical agriculture.

I also found another interesting though less faithful application of Pestalozzi's principles in the training-school directed by Scherr at Kusnacht, and in that directed by Keller at Lenzburg.

At that time there were already several establishments in Switzerland in which efforts were being made to carry out Pestalozzi's ideas for the education of neglected or orphan children. I visited a great many of these, particularly noticing the Schurtanne Asylum near Trogen, founded by Zellweger, and Zeller's institution at Beuggen near Rheinfelden.

At different times afterwards I also visited the various scenes of Pestalozzi's noble and indefatigable exertions. But by that time his fellow-workers and contemporaries had all passed away, and the only people I could question were old men, who at the time of Pestalozzi's first experiments had been little more than children.

At Yverdun itself I often had the pleasure of meeting some of my old masters and comrades. All those who had lived there before 1817, had retained such pleasant memories of the place that they seldom lost an opportunity of revisiting the spot where they had passed so many happy hours in their childhood, "their dear Yverdun," as they used to call it, and so I had many chances of reviving my old memories and gathering fresh information.

It was in this way that I had the pleasure of receiving, in my own house, my dear old French master, Alexander Boniface. On leaving Yverdun he had established a Pestalozzian school in Paris, which at first had met with considerable success; but as the plan of studies was in opposition to that of the University, the success was necessarily short-lived. I also twice received Mr. Blochmann of Dresden, who had taught me music and geography in the institute, and had afterwards become the King of Saxony's chief educational councillor.

Since then many years have passed; none of my old masters are left; the very pupils of the institute, if still alive, are old men, and their loving visits to Yverdun have entirely ceased. And so, left almost alone, I have gathered together these memories, feeling that I had not a day to lose.

CHAPTER XIX.

PESTALOZZI'S RELIGION.

At first sight, Pestalozzi's religion does not strike us very favourably; it was neither the mainspring of his life, nor even the motive that induced him to embark on the enterprises of his early years. Even as a child, he admired the activity of his grandfather, the pastor, rather from a temporal than from a spiritual point of view, and his subsequent study of theology did but serve to disgust him with a formal and dead orthodoxy. His faith, too, was severely shaken by his study of Rousseau; and in the various philanthropic plans he formed at the time of his marriage, he cared less for heaven than for earth.

At his son's birth, however, his religious sentiment revived, and, as we see from certain fervent passages in his diary, exercised no small influence over him, though even now his faith was not in Jesus the Saviour of men, the need of whom he did not feel till somewhat later, when working at the education of his son, and of the poor children he had taken into his home. When his first charitable effort had brought him to the verge of ruin, he wrote as follows:

> "Christ, by His example and doctrine, teaches us to sacrifice ourselves and all we possess for our brother's good; He shows us that we have no absolute right to anything that we have received, but that it is merely entrusted to us by God to be administered in the service of charity."

Pestalozzi proved himself a Christian by his actions, his whole life, his ardent and universal charity; he never attacked any of the Christian dogmas, but neither did he ever make any clear and formal profession of them, dreading the influence of dogmatism on the development of the religious sentiment. Moreover, though a Protestant himself, he was anxious to have his work accepted by Catholics, and accordingly, in all he wrote and said, he carefully avoided everything that was likely to wound any man's religious convictions.

Pestalozzi was certainly not one of those people who look upon the Bible as a merely human book, but neither was he one of those who consider it to be entirely Divine. The co-existence of the Divine and human elements in our sacred books is, in our opinion, beyond dispute, but inasmuch as it is a question that gives rise to such an infinite variety of opinions, it is avoided by many, not from indifference, but from a desire for unity.

Judging from Pestalozzi's writings, it would seem that he accepted the Divine authority for everything affecting man's sanctification, but for nothing else. His distinction between Divine and human was not very clear or precise, however; indeed, his statements are sometimes so contradictory, that even those who assert that he was a rationalist are able to point to passages in support of their view.

Furthermore, Pestalozzi must have scandalized the Christians of his time by his contempt for the study of the catechism, and indeed for verbal teaching in general as a means for developing a child's religious sentiment. But in this respect his ideas were not so new as was generally believed, for they had been current as long ago as the Reformation; they had, however, disappeared before the steadily increasing power of a formalism that cared for nothing but words.

The following passage occurs in Œkolampad's *Antisyngramma*, published in 1526:

> "The outward word is not the object of faith, not that which brings us the blood of Christ, food, and clothing. It is given to us merely to incite us to find *things*, and these we must look for in ourselves. Words teach us nothing but words. If we do not first know the things themselves, how shall we know what words are fit to express them worthily? If you do not already possess a certain knowledge, you may listen to words for hours, but you will learn nothing."[1]

The ruin of the Yverdun institute coincided with the appearance in Switzerland of a religious revival which, but for the errors with which it was accompanied, would have filled Pestalozzi's heart with joy. At first the old man saw little else in the movement but a return to primitive Christian simplicity, and welcomed it with eager gladness, as is proved by the following passage of his discourse for the 12th of January, 1818:

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[1] See the *Swiss Christian Review*, December, 1872, p. 743.

"The religious spirit, the blessing of the house, still exists among us; but it is without inner life, and is reduced to a mere reasoning spirit that does nothing but talk of what is holy and Divine. . . . And yet, the true spirit of Christ's teaching seems to be striking new and deep roots amid the corruption of our race, and to be nourishing a pure inner life in thousands of souls. Indeed it is this alone that will furnish us with the strength and principles necessary for fighting against the ideas, feelings, desires and habits of our century, which are undoubtedly the chief causes of the degradation of the people."

Before long, however, Pestalozzi, had ceased to be in entire sympathy with the revivalists who, while preaching a truer and more living Christianity than the philosophers of the eighteenth century had left to the great mass of Protestants, were also preaching a narrow, repressive theology, that left hardly any place for free will, deprived man of the power of working at his own sanctification, and above all refused to recognize in the child any single element of good. It is clear that such a theology as this could not be acceptable to Pestalozzi, and so it came to pass that the leaders of the movement refused to look upon him as a Christian.

This judgment was unfortunately confirmed by the testimony of Ramsauer, a pupil of Pestalozzi, and one of his best collaborators, who after leaving the Yverdun institute had become a fervent Pietist. In the work we have already quoted, while doing full justice to his old master, for whom he is still full of gratitude and affection, he complains of never having been instructed in sound Christian doctrine, and especially in the doctrine of original sin.

And yet there can be no doubt that Pestalozzi recognized the existence of evil in the human soul, for it is the obvious teaching of his fable, *The interior of the hill*, already quoted.

A similar view to Ramsauer's is expressed by writers who shared his religious opinions, such as Blochmann, Chavannes and Paroz, all enlightened and friendly critics. There has even been published a German pamphlet, bearing the title, *Was Pestalozzi a Christian?* a question which the author answers in the negative.

On the other side, however, we are glad to be able to cite the testimony of Jayet,[1] an eager partisan of the revival, and a man eminently qualified to form a correct estimate of Pestalozzi. The following passage is taken from a letter he wrote at our special request:

"The subject of your letter is one of those which have the greatest claim on my interest. I owe much to Pestalozzi, who was almost a father to me. But an answer is not easy; indeed I should need rather a pamphlet than a letter for my recollections. This, however, is not what you ask for, nor could I find time for it. I shall just jot things down then as I remember them, beginning with the religious question upon which you lay particular stress.

"There was certainly no lack of piety in Pestalozzi, though certain important points of Christianity were not clear to him. He did not believe in man's fall, for instance, or at any rate he had not a sufficiently clear conception of it. And so, as a natural consequence, he ignored the fact of expiation and redemption by Christ's blood. In his efforts to raise mankind he relied exclusively upon his method, or rather upon a perfected method of education, ignoring all other means, the great and chief means.

"I remember, however, that Pestalozzi, ignorant as he was of the essence of the Gospel, had thoroughly caught its spirit in his manner of treating us. Faith and love were words that were constantly recurring in his religious discourses. He seems to have taken as his model God's way of turning men's hearts to Himself, who does not hold the guilty innocent, and yet pardons men that they may fear Him. Though Pestalozzi was not particularly strict, he had no difficulty in controlling us. But his discipline was love.

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[1] Mr. Jayet was one of the first pupils entered at the Yverdun institute. He afterwards became a pastor, and was one of the most ardent apostles of the religious revival.

When he scolded us, it was with his arms round our necks. He reached our consciences through our hearts. And thus, without knowing it, he prepared many a soul for the discipline of the Gospel and God's methods of salvation. I have often been struck by the number of Pestalozzi's old pupils who afterwards embraced the faith, for which they almost seemed to have been prepared. . . .

"Pestalozzi aimed more at harmoniously developing the faculties than at making use of them for the acquirement of positive knowledge; he sought to prepare the vase rather than fill it. But this judicious plan not infrequently gave rise to misapprehension, and I afterwards heard many parents find fault with Pestalozzi, saying: 'As long as my son was with Pestalozzi he learned nothing, but as soon as I put him somewhere else he made rapid progress.' And I often had the greatest difficulty to make these people understand that this very progress was owing to the judicious preparation their children had received from Pestalozzi."

These last remarks are important, and throw considerable light on the many contradictory opinions that have been expressed about Pestalozzi.

May we believe that after the time when Mr. Jayet was a pupil in the institute, Pestalozzi accepted the truths of the Christian dogma in a more complete manner? His discourses seem to prove that he did.

Here are a few extracts from the discourse pronounced on Christmas Day, 1811, which is printed at the end of the sixteenth volume of Seyffarth's collection:

"My children, we want you to share with us the joy of knowing that Jesus Christ our Saviour came down from heaven and became man among us. . . . Listen to the words of the angel: 'Behold I tell you tidings of great joy, for to-day a Saviour is born to you.' Keep these words carefully in your hearts. . . .

"Ah, if I could make this day a holy and blessed day for you, not merely a day of joy, but a day of salvation and of sanctification! If your joy, strengthening your faith in Jesus Christ, could raise you to that life of truth, justice, faith, and love which is in the spirit of Christ, and to which Christ calls all men! . . .

"The whole Bible is nothing but a collection of the revelations of God, calling men to rise above the vain service of the world to the Divine service of a holy faith in Him."

And again, in the discourse of the 12th of January, 1818, the following passage occurs:

"Let no one say that Jesus did not love the wicked, the evildoers! He loved them with a Divine love, He died for them. It was not the just but sinners that He called to repentance. He did not find the sinner a believer, but made him a believer by His own faith; He did not find him humble, but made him humble by His own humility."

Later still, when the establishment at Yverdun was on the verge of dissolution, Pestalozzi, with his characteristic conscientiousness, reproached himself for not having given a more solid religious foundation to his work. It was then that walking one day in the garden of the Castle and looking sadly at the old building, he said to his companion: "Ah, my dear friend, I did not establish my house firmly enough upon the true foundation, and thus it is threatened with ruin."

On his death-bed Pestalozzi cried: "I am soon going to read in the book of truth," knowing full well that man is not permitted to understand everything here below. He then added: "I am going to eternal peace," and died with the joy and faith of a Christian.

The earth has now covered his mortal remains for sixty years, and during that time men's opinions of him have been considerably modified. His work is being slowly understood, and people are beginning to see that he was misjudged, only because he was ahead of his time.

During the last thirty years, even the most orthodox Protestants have repudiated the narrowness of view, Puritanical harshness, and petty intolerance that so long existed among the partisans of the religious revival, and it is now understood that there are different ways of being an evangelical Christian. And so in recent works on Pestalozzi, which have been especially numerous in Germany, we find no trace of doubt as to the Christian character of his work.

This character, as we have seen, was evident enough in

Pestalozzi's treatment of the children he sought to befriend, but it stands out most clearly when we compare his educational doctrine with the teaching of the Gospel. What Jesus asks for is an inward development in spirit and in truth, something which comes from the heart. When He seeks to make us one with Him, it is that we may be nourished by His love, His faith, and His humility, as the branch is nourished by the sap of the vine. He always judges of an act by the feeling behind it, thus making the hidden motives of the human soul a measure of the real value of its external manifestations.

And if we look at the comparisons by which Jesus teaches His disciples, we shall find Him constantly taking vegetable life as a type of the moral and religious life. The kingdom of heaven is like a tree that has grown from a small seed. The word of God is like a seed that falls upon good ground; it takes root and develops in a well-prepared heart. God punishing the sinner is like a gardener pruning a tree that it may bring forth more fruit. Every tree is known by its fruits; men do not gather figs of thorns, etc.

Everywhere, in short, He explains the development of the human heart by likening it to the organic development of the plant. We might indeed call this the philosophy of the Gospel; we are about to see that it was certainly the philosophy of Pestalozzi.

CHAPTER XX.

PESTALOZZI'S PHILOSOPHY.

PESTALOZZI was, before everything else, a man of feeling and imagination; it was his feelings that led him to put himself in the place of the unfortunate, it was by his powerful imagination that he so identified himself, as it were, with children and poor people as to discover in them the truths he was destined to reveal to the world.

He was, at the same time, a man of action. In devoting himself to the people, it was by deeds and practical experiments that he sought to serve them. He only began to write when he could no longer act, and afterwards he only wrote for the sake of making known certain views which he was not in a position to test practically.

He would never admit that he had a carefully thought-out system, his intuitions being so simple and so clear that he thought they must be shared by everybody. It is true that he was unable to formulate them in any general manner, because, having so long forsaken books and the society of scholars, he had no power of philosophical expression. And yet he was delighted to hear from Fichte that his ideas were in harmony with the philosophy of Kant.

It is somewhat difficult, then, to think of Pestalozzi as a philosopher. And yet when we see his whole life animated by one idea, an idea which enables him first to discover the faults of the schools of his time, and the dangers to civilization resulting therefrom, and then to apply remedies, many of which, despite his awkwardness, met with admirable success, we can no longer doubt that some new and fertile philosophical principle had been revealed to his mind.

As a matter of fact, all the originality of his genius consists in a new conception of man and man's nature, of his powers, their mode of action, and development. This is what we venture to call Pestalozzi's philosophy; and when it is once understood, his whole doctrine is seen to result naturally from it.

In Pestalozzi's view, man is created by God and comes into the world possessing in germ all the moral, physical, and intellectual powers which, if exercised and developed by the natural means the world offers him, will, by Divine grace, enable him happily to accomplish the destiny to which he is called.

In many of his writings, Pestalozzi formally recognizes the necessity of God's grace, but he knows, too, that if it is man's duty to ask for it as being powerless without it, he must none the less work as if he could do everything for himself, and apply his whole strength in the sphere of activity to which God has called him.

The only means that the educator can make direct and practical use of are those offered by the world in general and the child's nature in particular; it is these that Pestalozzi studied and co-ordinated, for the purpose of employing them in accordance with the natural law of the child's development.

This law is the essential part of his discovery; it is a consequence of his philosophical conception of human nature; it became the fundamental principle of his educational doctrine.

It appears in his mind as an intuition of his early youth. As a general rule he does not so much state the law as take it for granted, but he always observes it and acts in accordance with it. We may say, indeed, that his whole life bears its stamp. It is true that he nowhere formulates it as a whole, but he gives its principal features in all his writings. We find it, for instance, in the *Evening Hour*, his first pedagogical work, and again in the *Song of the Swan*, the last production of his old age.

As we have seen, this law of man's development is an organic law; that is to say, our true progress cannot result from a mere combination of external circumstances, but only from the work that goes on within us. In the physical organism the organs are increased and strengthened by use and exercise only; each of them profits chiefly and directly from the exercise which is suited to it, but also to some extent indirectly from the exercise of certain other organs, on account of the harmony and solidarity which exist between the different parts of the same organism. Progress follows progress in an unbroken sequence. The development, in short, at whatever point it may be supposed to stop, always forms a whole which is harmonious and complete.

Such are the essential features of this law, discovered by Pestalozzi, and applied by him in all the enterprises of his long life, so long, at least, as circumstances allowed him to freely follow his own impulses.[1]

It is the law of the natural development of man; we may therefore expect to find it living and active whenever this development has not been interfered with by the prejudices or passions of men and the artificial means they so generally adopt. Hence Pestalozzi sees the type of the law in the action of a good mother in her relations with her infant child.

He wishes the mother to learn to continue and complete this work she has so well begun, to teach always in the same spirit all that the child is capable of learning, and to make him discover for himself the elements of the knowledge that he will afterwards acquire in the school. The work of the school, in fact, is to be but the continuation of the work begun by the mother. This work embraces moral development, physical development, and intellectual development, all of which were included by Pestalozzi in what he called his "idea of elementary education."

In moral development each individual faculty of the heart must be set in action and exercised, that it may not perish but gain strength and breadth; thus, all faith must proceed from a first act of faith, all love from a first prompting of love, all justice from a first sentiment of justice, and it is in ordinary life and especially in the home that the means and opportunities for this development of the heart are to be found; "for," says Pestalozzi, "it is life that educates." For the development of the moral nature the philosopher of education did not propose any special and definite series of exercises, for it would have been impossible to draw one up;

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[1] In *The Philosophy and Practice of Education* we have shown that this law results strictly from the observation of facts, we have formulated it in its entirety, and we have endeavoured to apply it to all branches of education.

but he organized all the child's activity in such a way as to give him no other motive power than feelings and desires consistent with Christian morality, and in doing that he freed the education of the heart from the subversive influences of the school.

In physical development the organic law had naturally not been entirely ignored, but public education took little notice of it. Pestalozzi revived gymnastics at a time when Europe had allowed them to fall into complete neglect. In his institutions he graduated these exercises in a manner which has since been imitated and improved upon.

But it was above all in what he did for intellectual development that Pestalozzi obtained the success most calculated to strike the public, a success which amazed his visitors and brought general attention upon his undertakings. He sought out the simplest elements of our knowledge in the form in which they engage the attention of the little child; he made him acquire them by that direct and personal experience which he calls sense-impression, and developed them by a series of exercises which proceeded by almost imperceptible degrees in one unbroken chain. This is what has generally been called the "Method" of Pestalozzi. But however far he and his fellow-workers may have carried their labours in this direction, however remarkable their success may have sometimes been in mathematics, drawing, geography, etc., Pestalozzi was not satisfied. He used to say that that was not the end to which he had devoted his life, but simply one of the special means by which he hoped to reach it, and so he worked on and never ceased in his search.

In reality, in wishing to show his doctrine in the light of its practical results, he had set himself a task for which a man's whole life would hardly have sufficed, even had he possessed all the strength and resources that Pestalozzi lacked. Often and often in the course of his experiments he had recognized their defects and insufficiency, he had seen that they were not giving an exact and complete idea of his doctrine, and he had tried to make up for this by his writings. It was in this mind and with this intention that he published most of his books, but in none of them did he concentrate his ideas or co-ordinate his principles in such a way as to make a connected whole of his thought. And thus the world has never found in his works a clear answer to the often-repeated question: "What is the Pestalozzian method?"

The *Song of the Swan* was the last of these attempts, but, notwithstanding the luminous touches in which it abounds, it was no better understood than the others. The fact is, that in order perfectly to understand Pestalozzi's philosophical thought, it is necessary to follow him throughout his life, and above all throughout his long series of writings. There can then no longer be any doubt that what he aimed at, what he preached, and what he partially realized in his practical work was, if we may use the word in an immaterial sense, an organic education.

But the benefits of a true philosophy are not confined to those alone who are able to formulate it. Whole nations are almost unconsciously penetrated by philosophical ideas, which, gradually influencing feelings, opinions and conduct, lend to each civilization its distinctive features.

Pestalozzi's philosophy has already begun to produce an effect of this sort. It is very little known and yet its influence is spreading. Among the men who occupy themselves with education, there are few whose minds do not bear some trace of it, even though they may know nothing of Pestalozzi's labours.

The fact is, that the large numbers of men who in some way or another came into contact with his work, all carried away something valuable with them, many perhaps without knowing it. And then afterwards, these same men, scattered over many countries as teachers, writers, or even as private individuals, diffused around them, as it were, some portion of the master's spirit, even when criticizing and condemning his method as they had seen it practised.

And so we are struck to-day by the fact that in hardly any country is anything written upon education, or any educational institution founded or reformed, without principles being invoked which we owe in a great measure to Pestalozzi. They are, indeed, rarely attributed to the Swiss philosopher, but generally to Rabelais, Montaigne, Charron, the Port Royalists, or Rousseau, to mention French writers only.

It is indeed true that Pestalozzi's philosophy contains many truths which had been discovered and proclaimed to the world long before him, but before him these truths had not been seen to depend upon a common central principle, they had not been applied to a rational system of teaching, they had not been built up into a system of elementary education suited to the wants of the people. Further, these truths had not been proclaimed without a great admixture of error, so that they had been of little practical value for education.

But when the influence of Pestalozzi's work, an influence indeed often unsuspected, began to make itself felt by opening men's minds to a conception of rational education, the true principles to be found in the older writers excited more attention and were better understood, and society was seized with a desire to apply them to the reform of a system of education, the defects and vices of which it was no longer possible to ignore.

The time has come, then, when it is of the highest importance to obtain an exact and complete knowledge of Pestalozzi's work, that we may confer upon nations the benefits of a rational education, and thus ensure the future of civilization

CHAPTER XXI.

PESTALOZZI'S ELEMENTARY METHOD.

General statement. Distinction between this method and the different ways in which attempts have been made to apply it. Regarded by its author as an indispensable means for raising the people, and establishing order and harmony in society. Still the chief remedy for many social evils.

FROM his childhood Pestalozzi had been profoundly touched by the poverty and sufferings of a great number of his fellow-countrymen, and especially by their state of moral and intellectual destitution; he had longed to rescue them, and make "men" of them, and had worked for this noble end with all the power of his ardent, loving soul. It was in concentrating his desires and actions on this single object that he arrived at the philosophical conclusions which inspired his whole after life.

It was to elementary education that he first applied his principles; and his marvellous success proved the truth of his views. We will not here enter into all the details of his methods, but merely call attention in a few words to the many improvements which are owing to him, and which, adopted by most of our schools, are to-day rendering important and incontestable services.

Pestalozzi's philosophical doctrine has certain immediate and obvious consequences which regulate the elementary method of teaching.

To learn, the child must be always active. He learns only by his own impressions, and not from words, which must accompany his ideas to fix them, but are impotent to produce them.

Words apart from the ideas they represent have no value, and, inasmuch as it is possible for the child to connect them with ideas to which they do not belong, are even sometimes dangerous. The child must, as it were, be provided with fruitful and salutary impressions, following each other in a natural and carefully graduated order. He must then be required to express clearly in speech all the ideas these impressions suggest; and, lastly, he must be made to obtain a thorough mastery of each idea before being introduced to a new one.

These principles had been recognized by Pestalozzi as early as 1774, at the time that he was endeavouring to bring up his child, then between three and four years of age, in accordance with the ideas of Rousseau. He had seen in them a means for regenerating society by the reform of elementary education; and without considering his strength, he conceived an irresistible desire to put his hand to the work. This is the explanation of those successive enterprises in which, so firm was his faith in these principles that, despite failure and ruin, he steadily persevered in his endeavour to give a practical proof of their truth.

In reviewing the different means for elementary teaching that we owe to Pestalozzi, we shall follow the order of their use in the course of the child's development.

The *exercises of sense-impression and language*, afterwards called *object-lessons*, are intended to teach the child to observe and to talk—to recount, that is, all the impressions he receives from the objects which surround him, and to which the master calls his attention. In this way the child's words and sentences, which may be corrected, if necessary, are really his own work, and express his own thoughts.

Sense-impression was also applied to *arithmetic*, the child learning numbers and their relations by the sight of objects that he could count. Pestalozzi employed for this purpose his *table of units* and *table of fractions.* The series of these exercises being rather long, people tried to shorten it, and Pestalozzi's tables have been replaced by other similar inventions. These changes, however, have brought more loss than gain, for the best pupils of the schools of to-day are very far behind Pestalozzi's in mental arithmetic.

The *graphic exercises* without rule or compass served equally well as a preparation for linear drawing, elementary geometry, or writing. For these exercises Pestalozzi used slates, which, from the ease with which they can be cleaned, have been of immense service in primary schools

In *drawing* the children were taught to judge of the length of lines and size of angles by the eye, and to work out a certain number of combinations on a given plan. They were not limited to copying models, but had to design symmetrical and graceful figures; and thus they were exercising at the same time, not only their eye and hand, but their taste and inventive faculties.

Pestalozzi called *relation of forms* or *sense-impression of forms* those graphic exercises which served as an introduction to geometry. The child had first to distinguish between vertical, horizontal, oblique, and parallel lines; right, acute, and obtuse angles; different kinds of triangles, quadrilaterals, etc. Then he had to find out at how many points a given number of straight lines could be made to cut one another; or how many angles, triangles, or quadrilaterals could be formed from them. These exercises gradually led the child to the first problems of theoretical geometry, which he attempted with all the more pleasure that he was able to find most of the demonstrations for himself.

Writing gives little difficulty to children whose hand and eye have been already well trained. Pestalozzi taught it side by side with *reading*, but he did not begin these exercises till after those we have already mentioned. Before he taught at Burgdorf, he had already drawn up a manual for teaching to read, in which he had first suggested the use of movable letters. His method, which has to-day been generally adopted, was to teach from a series of groups of letters, arranged in order of difficulty.

Pestalozzi's method of teaching *geography* has completely revolutionized the teaching of that science. The child is first taught to observe the country about his home, not on the map but on the land itself; it is the child himself who draws the map, correcting the mistakes in his first attempt after another visit to the spot. Having thus learned to understand and read maps, he continues his study by the help of large blank maps hung on the wall.

From the very first day geography is connected with other sciences, such as natural history, agriculture, local geology, etc., which make it very attractive even for children.

Pestalozzi taught the elements of *natural history* by his exercises of sense-impression and language; that is to say, the master brought different objects under the children's direct observation, and by judicious suggestions encouraged them to talk about them. Preference was given to those objects that the children brought home from their walks, but these were supplemented by collections of minerals, plants, stuffed animals, etc.

In the exercises that we have described, Pestalozzi's chief means for maintaining the attention and activity of the whole class, and for fixing names in the memory of the children, was to make them repeat each correct statement several times in chorus.

When this is done in strict time, the result is a sort of chant which is not particularly agreeable to listen to, but which has no serious disadvantages. The children must be taught not to shout, and care must be taken that each one takes part in the exercise, any who seem inattentive being questioned separately. But Pestalozzi's mind was so often full of other thoughts, and he so often allowed his zeal to carry him away, that these precautions were often entirely neglected, the result being a noise and confusion which not only spoilt everything, but led many who had no other data to guide them to utterly condemn the method. And yet the plan in itself was excellent; nor has anything yet been found to replace it. It had too a hygienic advantage, inasmuch as it strengthened the children's chests by constantly exercising the organs of speech. But it has had bad imitators, who have copied the form without catching the spirit, making children repeat statements which they had not themselves formulated, which were not the expression of their own observation, and which sometimes even had not been explained to them. This practice, diametrically opposed as it was to the method of the man whose name it bore, must have been the cause of many an unsound judgment upon the master's doctrine.

Singing played an important part in all Pestalozzi's establishments. The youngest children first learned to sing as they had learned to talk—by imitation. In this way they formed their voice, ear, and taste, before knowing their notes. When they came to theory and notation, time was taken first, sound being left till afterwards. The reason of this was, that time being, as it were, a mathematical part of music, the children easily grasped it, having been well prepared for it by their previous training in counting.

Every lesson in theory ended with a few songs by way of recreation.

The admission of *gymnastics* into the programme of a school was another innovation due to Pestalozzi. He attached quite as much importance to this exercise as to any of the other lessons. It was in gymnastics too that the value of gradation, that favourite principle of his, was brought out most clearly.

We cannot here speak of the other branches of instruction, because the works in which he sought to apply his method to them were never finished. We will merely add a few words on the subject of the study of language, on account of its great importance.

Pestalozzi's pupils learned to use their mother-tongue by constant and varied practice. In his first undertakings the language learned in this way was German, but at Yverdun French was added, and after that time the children were exercised in both languages. But it was also necessary to teach them grammar, and as Pestalozzi had not applied his method to that particular branch of study, the masters had to be satisfied with the books already in use. Pestalozzi seems to have sought in vain for a method of teaching grammar in accordance with his principles;[1] however, with a zeal and perseverance that nothing could daunt, he continued his attempt to find some simple and rational method of teaching foreign and dead languages to the end of his life.

We have only been able to give here a general idea of Pestalozzi's application of his method to the different branches of elementary education. The complete series of these exercises will be found in our *Philosophy and Practice of Education.*

But we cannot repeat too often that Pestalozzi's method is spirit and life, and that before it can bear fruit this spirit must have sunk deep into the master's mind and heart. A man will understand that he is faithful to this method when his children, freed from all artificial stimulus, and eager merely for truth, knowledge, and increased powers, bring a joyful diligence to all his lessons.

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[1] We think Pestalozzi would in a great measure have found what he wanted in Becker's *Organism of Language*, a book which was not published till long after his death.

It is true that this happy result is sometimes obtained by men who are far from thinking themselves followers of Pestalozzi, whose name, perhaps, they have never even heard. But this is because the master's philosophy, spreading slowly and silently, has influenced their thought without their knowledge.

Would that its influence had reached everywhere, for then we should not so often see the natural law of human development violated in the home and the school, where it sometimes seems as though the object were rather to hinder its action than to help it on.

Publications intended for children are, however, improving; indeed, for some years now, marvellous, insipid stories and other artificial puerilities have been more or less given up, and a serious attempt made to interest children while giving them solid instruction. This is a great step forward, but it is not all. A large number of children's books, especially in France, may still be reproached with making an abuse of fiction by multiplying dramatic and romantic situations, and by interesting the reader less by the instruction they give than by the adventures and incidents which are its framework. And thus children grow weary of these things, their taste is spoiled, and it becomes difficult for them to take pleasure in true history or real travels, and often indeed in any serious and sustained intellectual work.

We have now given a general sketch of Pestalozzi's elementary method in its application to teaching, properly so called. But the instruction of children was not the only, nor even the chief aim to which this extraordinary man devoted the ardent activity of his life; he was anxious above all else to reform their moral and religious education, and develop their hearts, and so form pious, moral men, devoted to their duty, their neighbour, and their country.

We must first remark that this moral development already resulted to a certain extent from the means employed for teaching; indeed, voluntary, varied, and steady activity and the quest of truth for its own sake, and not for reasons of pride or interest, were eminently calculated to awaken the noblest sentiments of the soul, and establish the supremacy of the spirit over the flesh. But Pestalozzi's method can also be applied in a more direct manner to the development of the child's heart, for since it always makes the child's best feelings the spring of action, these feelings are constantly gaining in strength. It is thus that for the moral training of children, Pestalozzi relies much less upon discourses and exhortations than upon the practice of the Christian virtues —faith, love, patience, pardon, etc., a practice to which he wishes the child to be accustomed from the very cradle, such small things being utilized at first as may perhaps seem trifles to us, but which are nevertheless the foundations of all piety, morality, and wisdom.

The influence of Pestalozzi's method upon the child's moral and religious development has been somewhat underrated, especially by certain pious men who feel the need of the Gospel for the sanctification of souls, but who, a prey to a fatal illusion, think that the explanation of dogma alone can sow the seeds of Christian sentiments in a young heart, and that this will always be enough. Pestalozzi said: "Elementary education alone can regenerate and save society." "No," say they, "the Gospel alone can perform this miracle." But there is no real contradiction between these two statements.

Society can only be raised by the raising of the individual. Now, if the Gospel is to raise men, it must not only sink deep into their minds, but become as it were a part of their being, forming their conscience, and supplying the principle upon which their feelings, aspirations, and will must depend.

The preaching of the Gospel, however, does not always suffice for this; even when souls have been really touched, the effects are too often transitory, disappearing with the generation that experiences them. A period of faith is often succeeded by a period of incredulity, and it is by no means an unusual thing to see the children of fervent Christians Christian in nothing but the name. And so it comes to pass that, even in countries where it has been preached for centuries, the Gospel is still a stranger to the hearts of the majority of men.

Christian truth does sometimes take possession of a man in a moment, and such absolute possession that it never again forsakes him; but such cases are rare. As a general rule, a thorough education is needed, not the outward and superficial memory-education of the time before Pestalozzi, but *elementary education*, as he calls it, an education, that is, which sets the feelings and faculties in motion, gives them a direction, and, by thus making him really assimilate morality and knowledge, renders the child the chief agent in his own development.

The philosophy of the eighteenth century declared man to be originally good, but spoiled by society. This was equivalent to saying that society, in spite of being the work of man who is good, is in itself bad.

In fighting against this deplorable error, men unfortunately fell into the opposite mistake, not only declaring man to be originally bad, but denying that he bore within him a single germ of good. And thus, by a very natural consequence, Pestalozzi was condemned because he looked upon education as a development. And yet it is absolutely certain that if there were no trace of good feelings in the child's soul, good feelings could exercise no influence over him, and that if there were no seeds of good in his heart, all men's efforts for his moral education would be worse than useless.

As we have seen, Pestalozzi undoubtedly recognized the original existence of evil in the heart of man, though in stating his views he too often left this important truth in the background, partly perhaps because he was chiefly struck by the innumerable germs of goodness, dormant it is true, but yet alive, in even the most degraded souls, partly because, his aim being to interest his contemporaries in the work by which he hoped to regenerate and save the suffering people, he felt bound before everything else to prove that such a regeneration was possible.

Whatever may be the aim of education, success is not possible without *method;* some procedure, that is, in conformity with the natural law of man's development. And thus, in whatever religious or philosophical doctrine we may wish to train children, we must always take for a starting-point their thoughts and feelings as they are, according to the axiom which says that before you can take a man anywhere, you must first go where he is; their powers, too, must be developed by exercise, and they must be taught to apply their strength to raising themselves slowly to the knowledge of truth and the practice of duty.

Now, this is just what Pestalozzi proposed to do. Considered in itself, his method is independent of all dogmatic opinions, and it is for this reason that it will never grow old, but at all times and in all countries be capable of application, not only to the powers of the body and mind, but also to the divine element within the soul.

In consecrating his life to a reform of elementary education, Pestalozzi not only sought to stop the sources of individual poverty and suffering, but also to root out vices which were undermining the whole of European society, and preparing a fatal catastrophe for civilization. This idea comes out in most of his works. We need only remind our readers of the almost prophetic words he addressed to Mrs. Niederer when entrusting her with his manuscript on the causes of the French Revolution.

What Pestalozzi considered the real cause of the evil was not so much the absence of instruction for the people as a vicious method of teaching, which paralyzed the faculties it should have developed, and blunted the sympathies it should have quickened. And yet, as a general rule, it is this old method which has continued to prevail in the remarkable extension that has nearly everywhere been given to popular instruction in the course of this century. And thus it happens that this grand diffusion of *enlightenment*, as it is called, has often but aggravated the very evil it was intended to cure.

As Pestalozzi considered his *elementary education* to be the chief means for preserving our civilization from the terrible dangers he foresaw, we must endeavour to show how such an education, if generally applied, might contribute to bring about a change in existing conditions, and correct many of the vices which are to-day troubling society and threatening its future.

In the first place, it would give true liberty of heart and mind, without which no other liberty can be enjoyed; it would tend to re-establish in every citizen that independence of development and character which teaches a man to observe and judge for himself, without allowing himself to be absorbed by party or sect, and made a mere puppet in the hands of others. We should then no longer see the great majority of men with no other beliefs, judgments, or feelings than the beliefs, judgments, and feelings of the mass, blindly following the lead of the most skilful and violent mob orator.

Moreover, this really educational instruction, by making the child the agent of his own knowledge, gives him both taste and facility for learning by himself. Formed thus, the young man takes pleasure in devoting his leisure to self-instruction, and thus avoids temptations and the formation of habits which are often no less deadly in their effect on society than on his family and himself.

This instruction, too, that every one continues to acquire by his own observations and his own judgment, shields men from the tyranny of fashionable opinions,—opinions of the majority, that is,—which at certain times are almost forced upon us, however full of error they may be. And it is not alone in economical science that men blindly accept false systems.

To-day the craze for natural science has replaced the unintelligent contempt with which it was formerly regarded; it has even come to be spoken of as *science*, as though there were no other; and its authority, often invoked even outside its domain, is almost the only authority still recognized. And thus we hear people declaring that the progress of natural science has put moral science to shame. May we not believe that men would be less exposed to such a confusion of ideas if their knowledge were the fruit of faculties trained from infancy, and the conquest of their attention, spirit of observation, and independent judgment?

One of the greatest dangers in these democratic times is the separation in the education of the different classes of society. The rich have one education, the poor another; the two classes, each going its own way, get farther and farther apart; with different habits, tastes, ideas, and feelings, nay, with a different language even, they end by no longer understanding each other; and so misunderstanding breeds mistrust, and mistrust not infrequently hatred. It is easy to see how much this evil would be lessened if all children could remain together in the same schools up to the age of thirteen or fourteen; for, by that time, they would have a common stock of ideas, knowledge, and language, and durable relations would be possible between them. Schools in the spirit of Pestalozzi would render such an education as this possible, without even the richest and most particular parents having anything to fear for their children. We should not only want teachers, however, animated by Pestalozzi's spirit, but a considerable increase in the number of primary classes. But this latter reform we shall certainly have to wait for, although the need is very generally felt.

There is, however, a reform which might easily be realized at once, and which, though less complete, would still do much to lessen the lamentable antagonism that so often divides men engaged in different occupations.

It is now the custom for children intended for classical studies to begin Latin at eight or nine years of age, from which time they are, if not entirely separated, at any rate distinguished from their comrades who are preparing for industrial pursuits. Their work is quite different from the work of the others, and they are more or less encouraged to hold themselves aloof.

This state of things is not only bad for the harmony and sympathy that it is so desirable to see existing between all classes of society, but has besides the serious disadvantage of compelling parents to decide upon a calling for their children before they are in a position to judge of their tastes and aptitudes, with the result that many boys are launched into classical studies who will never succeed in them, and many, who at fourteen are clever and eager to learn, find themselves shut out from the liberal professions because they did not make their choice before. This state of things is also exceedingly bad for the studies themselves.

Pestalozzi was long ago struck by the painful waste of time and labour involved in trying to teach children Latin before they are acquainted with the principles of their own language, that is to say, before they have any knowledge of grammar, without which it is impossible for them to arrive at any understanding of a dead language. He even insisted that the study of a foreign modern language should precede the study of Latin, that the child might be provided with a first simple means of grammatical comparison.

This system has since been attempted a hundred times in different countries, even in important public establishments as at Berne, and has always met with complete success. Pupils who have only commenced the study of dead languages at the age of thirteen or fourteen, have invariably made such rapid progress, that in a few years they have more than made up for the time which they seemed to have lost, but which in reality they had employed far more usefully.

And yet this reform has not yet been generally adopted, for nothing is more difficult than to change a system of studies which has slowly grown, as it were, into a national custom, and which is intended to preserve a certain unity between the schools of a country. Books and methods adapted to children who as yet know nothing, would not of course do for those whose minds were already well formed. Besides, the reform would have to be carried out in all schools simultaneously, so that pupils might pass from one to another without detriment to their work. This reform, however, would be so advantageous in every respect, that it will certainly some day be adopted.

One of the chief vices of modern society is pride, in all its forms: vanity, ambition, the spirit of rivalry and domination, the desire to shine, to rise above others, to surpass them in power and in wealth; and this vicious tendency, into which our nature so easily slips, is aggravated nearly every day in class-rooms where the activity of the pupils is stimulated by prizes and other unwise means. Instead of being satisfied with the natural emulation which, in a properly conducted school, results from the very nature of things, and from the satisfaction of doing well and meeting with success, teachers employ all sorts of artificial means to excite and keep alive an unhealthy and un-Christian emulation, a desire for distinctions and honours, and a spirit of rivalry, which is not always unmixed with spite, envy, and hatred.

In his very earliest works, Pestalozzi condemned and proscribed these artificial means of exciting emulation; and in his after labours he did better still and rendered them superfluous. His elementary exercises, in fact, by reason of their starting-point, gradation, and connection, are so thoroughly adapted to the faculties, tastes, and needs of the child, that he takes part in them with pleasure, the mere satisfaction of feeling that he is learning and discovering, and that his powers are increasing, being a sound and sufficient stimulus. And so when we teach children by the rational elementary method, we are no longer tempted to make their vanity the stimulus to activity.

These are a few only of the points of view from which the discovery of the great educational reformer appears to us to be the chief factor in the solution of the social problem by which we are confronted to-day.

To sum up, that part of Pestalozzi's work which will endure, and that which constitutes him the benefactor of humanity, is his application of his philosophy to an elementary method of education. If we have succeeded in our attempt to explain this method, it will be clear to everybody that it does not consist in a certain set procedure, and that no perfect type of it is to be looked for in what was done either at Burgdorf or Yverdun. It will be clear, too, why Pestalozzi himself was never entirely satisfied with what he had done, and why he went on working and searching till his life's end.

He died at his work, this noble friend of the poor; and, dying, he addressed a supreme appeal to those who might do more and better than he had done, and continue after him the work that he had the sorrow of leaving unfinished. In his humble modesty he seems to have forgotten that it was he who had accomplished the hardest and most important task, by laying bare the vices of his time, discovering the principles of a salutary reform, and throwing a way open in which we have now but to walk.

It is for the true and warm friends of humanity, those who, understanding Pestalozzi, feel themselves at one with him in spirit and heart, to answer his appeal, and follow him in the difficult path made easier by his devotion. To-day, the gate stands wide open, and the need is pressing.

APPENDIX I.

NIEDERER'S LITERARY COLLABORATION, AND A FEW WRITINGS OF PESTALOZZI'S FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1873.

WISHING, in our work on Pestalozzi, to study the evolution of his thought throughout his long career of activity and self-sacrifice, we endeavoured to consider it apart from the foreign influences which occasionally modified its manifestations, and, for this reason, we abstained from mentioning the works published by Pestalozzi between 1807 and 1811, in the writing of which Niederer had a considerable share.

And yet these works deserve to be known; for though they are not always the pure and true expression of the master's ideas, they still give an interesting insight into his opinions and the working of his mind at the time when the institute of Yverdun was at the height of its fame.

Nor is that part of these works which is to be attributed to Niederer without importance. Pestalozzi's biographers have not forgiven this philosopher for having put something of his own spirit and style into the spirit and style of his master; and this grievance has made them unfair to the most enlightened of Pestalozzi's collaborators, and prevented their recognizing his merit and the very real part he took in the elaboration of the "method." It seems to us that to rescue from oblivion a literary collaboration at which he worked with the most complete self-forgetfulness, is the least we owe to his memory.

This was also the opinion of Seyffarth, who, in 1873, published, as an Appendix to his edition of Pestalozzi's works, two volumes containing the writings of Niederer and the master's other collaborators.

As we have seen, Pestalozzi first entrusted to Krusi and Buss, and then to Schmidt, the writing of what he called his

Elementary Books; that is, the *Book for Mothers* and the *Exercises on Number and Form.* In these works the authors did but follow to the letter the instructions of their master, so that we can hardly hold them responsible for the monotony and extreme prolixity which rendered these books useless for schools, in spite of the excellence of the principle of which they were such a clumsy application. This being so, we need say no more about them.

With Niederer's collaboration, however, it is another matter. When quite a young man, he had enthusiastically adopted Pestalozzi's ideas about education; but his love of generalization and philosophical formulas had led him to elaborate them still further, and give them the form and scientific expression they seemed to him to lack.

Pestalozzi, with his childlike trust and modest diffidence, generally submitted his manuscripts to Niederer before printing, though he was not always entirely satisfied with his alterations. But it was not till afterwards, when engaged, at Schmidt's suggestion, in preparing a new edition of his works for Cotta, that he was tempted to repudiate a part of what Niederer had made him say. His repudiation is to be found in the notes he added to the new edition of the writings we are now about to consider.

The first in the order of publication is entitled, *On the Principles and Plan of a Journal announced in* 1807. It tells us that already at Burgdorf Pestalozzi had undertaken a *Journal of Education*, of which the first number only had appeared; explains the circumstances that interrupted the publication, announces the re-issue of the journal, and describes its character. This journal is no doubt that which was published at Yverdun from 1807 to 1811 with the title of *Weekly Journal for the Education of Humanity.*

In this short work of twenty-two pages Pestalozzi is only spoken of in the third person; in other respects, the ideas and style show clearly enough that it is Niederer's work. To show the need for the forthcoming publication, he first points out that Pestalozzi's doctrine is generally very imperfectly understood, and then gives the two chief reasons.

The first is the artificial system of teaching that has long been in use, which makes it exceedingly difficult for men to understand and approve of a course which is almost the exact opposite of the course they have always pursued.

Accustomed for a long time to aim at superficial rather than solid knowledge, they still ask the same of the new method; but this the new method cannot give them. Sometimes even they go so far as to praise the method for results which it would be ashamed to own, and in general they admire nothing but its defects.

The second reason which prevents the new doctrine from being understood, is the way in which it has been formulated and put into practice by the founder and his helpers. It was not in accordance with Pestalozzi's tastes and habits, nor even in his power, to draw up a general and logical statement of his idea; and he has only done so in a way which was fragmentary and incomplete. As for the method of applying it to teaching, it is still in a very backward state, and demands much time and labour. Even the elementary books already published lack one of the essential conditions of success; for while they give certain series of exercises, they do not explain the principles that are to guide the teacher, or the position he is to occupy with regard to his scholars.

These are clearly enough Niederer's own opinions, and the criticism is a fair one. It is only surprising that Pestalozzi should have published the work in his own name.

It is to fill these gaps, to help the world to a clearer and more complete understanding of the new doctrine, that the author of the pamphlet thinks the publication of a journal to be indispensable. He ends with a few words as to the subjects to be treated in the journal, and asks all friends of educational progress to contribute to its pages.

A second publication of 1807 bears the title, *A Glance at my Views and Essays in Education*. This was first printed in the *Journal of Education*, and then, without any material alteration, in Cotta's edition. In character it is quite different from the first, and is obviously Pestalozzi's own work, Niederer's hand being scarcely perceived.

The work fulfils the promise of its title, being a shortened account, first of that idea of Pestalozzi's which, resulting originally from his commiseration for the poor, ended in his plans for educational reform, and then of the different attempts he had made to carry these plans out. Pestalozzi here shows clearly and forcibly that the chief cause of the evils and dangers of society is the moral and intellectual poverty of the mass of men, and that the only means of safety for modern civilization is the realization of his idea of elementary education.

In speaking of the period of splendour of the Yverdun institute, Pestalozzi recognizes and deplores its utter insufficiency as a practical demonstration of the truth of his doctrine. His great desire is to have a school for quite young poor children, nor does he despair of being able to found one in connection with the institute.

There then follow some quotations from a work with which Pestalozzi was then (1807) occupied, but which was never published. It was intended to replace or supplement the books written at Burgdorf, especially *How Gertrude Teaches her Children*, with some account of their author's subsequent experiences and the progress of his practical work. The book was in the form of letters to a friend, and Pestalozzi gives extracts from several of the letters. Judging from these extracts, the manuscript was already in a very advanced stage and very interesting. We regret that we cannot here give a more complete account of it, but we would particularly recommend the extracts from the seventh and eighth letters to all who can read German.

The book which contains these extracts, and which consists of sixty-four pages, is not entirely free from tedious repetitions; and yet it is well worth reading, if only for the true and fairly complete idea it gives of the views and work of the author.

A third publication of the same period is entitled, *Report to Parents and the Public on the State and Organization of Pestalozzi's Institute in the Year* 1807, and contains, in forty-nine pages, an account of the establishment, which, though not fully detailed, is complete in all essential points. The main lines of the sketch are perfectly true, though in parts it is a little over-coloured; sometimes, too, it describes what has been attempted rather than what has been really done. The consequence was, that many of the statements it contained were refuted by the adversaries of the new method, who took a somewhat unfair advantage of the weapons with which it furnished them. This was the first cause of that long battle of words which proved so fatal to the institute.

It is well known that the man who always took the most favourable view of things at the institute, and always endeavoured to reassure Pestalozzi when the old man was dissatisfied with his work, was Niederer; and the illusions which run through the *Report to Parents* are undoubtedly his. Pestalozzi himself recognized them as illusions afterwards, as we see in the notes he added to the second edition in 1823, two of which run thus:

On page 4: "What is said here is, speaking generally, merely the effect of the great illusions we entertained at that time, and which, kept up by favourable external circumstances, made us see things as we should have liked them to be, and as, considering our principles, our wishes, and our efforts, we thought they ought to be."

On page 24: "In this passage, as in many others, I am not so much giving expression to my own simple and primitive views on education as to certain philosophical ideas which were not my own, which had not ripened in my mind, and which I did not perfectly understand. In spite of all our good intentions, these ideas had disturbed not only myself but several of my colleagues; I may even go so far as to say that it was they that led me astray and were the secret cause of the misfortunes that finally overtook my establishment."

The three short works we have just described were published by Pestalozzi in the eleventh volume of Cotta's edition, under the general title of, *Views and Experiences in Connection with the Idea of Elementary Education, togethed with Notices and Fragments concerning the Course and History of the Enterprises of my Life.* The whole was preceded by a preface from which we quote the following passage, referring to the *Principles and Plan of a Journal*, published in 1807.

"This writing must not be looked upon as giving my own personal view, but rather as expressing the views of the friends I then had about me. The presumption and incomprehensible blindness that made us so miscalculate our strength and means at that time, should be the more interesting to the public that these fantastic dreams were the first and chief cause of all the misfortune, humiliation, and sorrow that have since fallen upon me and mine, and brought my work within an ace of destruction."

The discourse delivered by Pestalozzi at the meeting of the Society of Friends of Education at Lenzburg in 1809, was printed shortly afterwards in the *Weekly Journal*, but not before it had been revised and expanded by Niederer. In 1821 it appeared, with a preface, in Cotta's eighth volume, where, although it had been considerably reduced for the purpose by Pestalozzi, it runs to a hundred and eighty-seven pages. The preface begins thus:

"This discourse, which differs materially from the one I really pronounced in Lenzburg, and bears the plainest marks of the foreign influence I was then under, shows clearly enough the spirit that prevailed amongst us at that time. We were carried away by a premature desire to explain our whole doctrine and system by basing it upon a philosophical principle which should embrace it in all its parts and all its developments, and we entirely lost sight of the fact that our practical work was still most defective and incomplete."

In the face of this statement, we cannot consider the Lenzburg discourse, as we possess it to-day, to be the pure expression of Pestalozzi's thought; it is much rather the expression of Niederer's conception of it. This, however, does not make it any the less interesting or less worth considering.

After referring to the many erroneous opinions that have been formed of the method and the institute, and to the official examination that he has just felt compelled to ask of the Swiss Diet, Pestalozzi invites all friends of education to come and judge for themselves. But as it is impossible to thoroughly understand what is being done at Yverdun without being acquainted with the fundamental principle of the method and its various applications, he is anxious that everybody should have as clear and complete a general notion of his system as possible. He therefore proceeds to draw up a statement of his method, characterizing it as *elementary*, *organic*, *and genetic*, and developing each of these three points of view at considerable length.

A complete analysis of this work would take us too far, besides obliging us to repeat much that we have said elsewhere.

The eighteenth and last volume of Seyffarth's collection contains some extracts from the *Weekly Journal;* Niederer's work entitled: *Pestalozzi's Enterprise in its Relation with* *the Education of our Time;* and the main points of the long, sad quarrel that followed the official inspection of the institute in 1809. Sundry smaller works of Pestalozzi's, the manuscripts of which he had entrusted to Niederer, are also here published for the first time. These are:

1. *Pestalozzi Sketched by Himself.*

This is the letter Pestalozzi addressed to Ith, when the latter was appointed to inspect the institute of Burgdorf.

2. *Epochs.*

This is a historical sketch from a social and political point of view, and is connected with *An Inquiry into the Course of Nature in the Development of the Human Race.*

3. *Religious Education: a Glance at Christ and His Doctrine.*

Pestalozzi here establishes the agreement between his views and the Saviour's teaching.

4. *The Method.*

This is the report presented by Pestalozzi to the Society of the Friends of Education in 1800, and referred to by us in its proper place.

5. *Pestalozzi's New Year's Day Discourse for* 1816.

In this discourse the old man's heart is seen to be divided between grief for the loss of the wife who had always been his good angel, and joy at seeing his work in safety. The latter sentiment, however, was but the result of an illusion; for there is no doubt that he exaggerated the value and bearing of the reforms carried out by Schmidt since his return. In this same discourse the thought that death is drawing near stimulates his religious feelings, and he exclaims:—

"Brothers and friends! I hear God's voice saying: Your grave is being prepared; you are about to go down into it; your friends will place you there as they have lately placed the companion of your life; you are soon to enter into eternal rest in the sight of your whole house, in the sight of the men and children who are yours, and whom you will leave behind. I see myself lying in my grave; I see myself entering into eternity, contemplating God, and praying to Him in truth and holiness. But I awake. I have seen my destiny. It is not in the transitory work of this earthly life; it is purity and innocence; it is the power of devotion of a faithful life to the service of God and humanity; it is the imitation of Jesus Christ, through faith in Him crucified, and for the glory of God the Father."

6. *Pestalozzi's New Year's Day Discourse for* 1817.

Here the old man examines his past. He has undertaken work out of all proportion to his strength, and would have failed but for God's assistance. As it is, his work remains defective and incomplete because some have not done what they could to bring God's blessing upon it. Pestalozzi himself is one of these, and this is the reason that his seventy-one years have not been sufficient. There is now no longer a moment to lose; the new year must not be like so many past years; it must not find the former man, but a new man, stripped of his errors, his weaknesses, and his negligences, and regenerated by the love of God and faith in Jesus Christ. He concludes thus:—

"What must I do to become such a new man? How am I to complete, establish, and sanctify the work of my short life on earth?

"Seeking to understand the real aim of my life, the real motive of that work which took such entire possession of me that I found no rest in anything else, I seem to hear an internal voice saying that it was the need to free man from the sensual domination of his animal nature, and raise him above the view of this world to a clear and divine view of the spiritual essence of his being. . . . But what am I, that I should dare to lay my hand to this sublime task? Am I not like a child who, admiring the heavens, should deem it possible to place the sun upon his head, take the moon into his hands, and make a crown for his forehead of the stars? . . .

"That which I long for and seek after, that which is holy, unchanging, and eternal in the aim of my life, is in no way mine; it is humanity's and God's. What am I, what are we all, in such work as this? A nothing that passes with the moment, like the insect of a day.

"But though the outward structure of our work should crumble, it is not humanity's, not God's work that disappears. It is merely the hammer, a stone, a grain of sand falling from God's building, where we have foolishly and ignorantly striven to fix it."

APPENDIX II.

A LIST OF PESTALOZZI'S WORKS IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER.[1]

1765. Agis.

1776. An appeal to the friends and benefactors of humanity to support an institution intended to provide education and work for poor country children.

1777. Three letters on the education of poor children.—A few words on the most degraded portion of humanity. An appeal to the charitable to come to its assistance.

1778. An account of the educational establishment for poor children at Neuhof.

1780. The Evening Hour of a Hermit.

1781. Leonard and Gertrude (vol. i.).—Note on the sumptuary laws.

1782. Christopher and Eliza.—The Swiss News, a weekly newspaper (2 vols.)—* The Education of Children in the Home. Incomplete, never published by Pestalozzi, and only to be found in Niederer's *Notes on Pestalozzi*, published at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1828 and 1829.

1783. Leonard and Gertrude (vol. ii.). On Legislation and Infanticide.

1785. Leonard and Gertrude (vol. iii.).

1787. Leonard and Gertrude (vol. iv.).

1792. On the Causes of the French Revolution. Never published by Pestalozzi.

1797. Fables (2 vols.).—An Inquiry into the Course of Nature in the Development of the Human Race.

1798. Political Pamphlets on the Swiss Revolution: A Word to the Legislative Councils of Helvetia; On Tithes; Awake, People of Helvetia; To my Country; To the People of Helvetia; Appeal to the Inhabitants of the old Democratic Cantons; On the Present and Future of Humanity.

1799. Letter to Gessner on the work at Stanz.

1800. Memoir presented to the Society of Friends of Education. Never published by Pestalozzi, and only to be found in Niederer's *Notes on Pestalozzi*, and in the eighteenth and last volume of Seyffarth's edition.

1801. How to Teach Spelling and Reading.—How Gertrude Teaches her Children.—Epochs; a historical sketch, from a social and political point of view. In Seyffarth's last volume.—Religious Education; a Glance at Christ and His Doctrine. In Seyffarth's last volume.

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[1] Those marked with an asterisk are not included in Seyffarth's edition.

1802. Views on certain points to which the legislators of Switzerland should particularly direct their attention.—Pestalozzi sketched by himself; a note addressed to Ith. In Seyffarth's last volume.

1803. * The Book for Mothers. Written in great part by Krusi.—* Sense-impressing Exercises on Number. Compiled by Krusi and Buss.—* Sense-impressing Exercises on Size and Form. Compiled by Krusi and Buss.—The Natural Schoolmaster. Never published by Pestalozzi.

1807. On the Principles and Plan of a Journal announced in 1807. Revised and in part written by Niederer.—A Glance at my Views and Essays in Education. Revised by Niederer.—Report to parents and the public on the educational institute of Yverdun. Revised and in part written by Niederer.

1807 to 1811. Weekly Journal of Education (3 vols.); written in great part by Niederer and others.

1808 to 1818. Discourses to my Establishment.

1809. Discourse pronounced before the Society of Friends of Education, at Lenzburg. Revised and added to by Niederer.

1813. Letter to Mr. Delbruck, Privy Councillor at Berlin.

1815. To the Innocent, Serious, and Noble-minded ones of my Country.

1820. A Word on my Pedagogical Labours, and the Organization of my Institute in 1820.—Practical Elementary Exercises on Number. Compiled by Schmidt.—Elementary Exercises on Size and Form. Compiled by Schmidt.

1820 to 1826. Cotta's edition of Pestalozzi's works (15 vols.), published at Stuttgart.

1822. Views on Industry, Education, and Politics, in connection with the State of our Country before and after the Revolution.

1826. The Song of the Swan.—My Experiences in my Educational Establishments of Burgdorf and Yverdun. Discourse pronounced as President of the Helvetian Society, the 26th of April, 1826.

APPENDIX III.

BOOKS TO CONSULT ON PESTALOZZI.

1801. *Der deutsche Merkur*. (Articles by Wieland.)

1802. *Amtlicher Bericht über die Pestalozzische Anstalt in Burgdorf*, von J Ith, etc. Bern.

1803. *Pestalozzi, seine Lehrart und seine Anstalt*, von A. Soyaux. Berlin.—*Pestalozzi's Methode und ihre Anwendung in der Volksschule*, von F. H. E. Schwartz. Bremen.—*Ueber Pestalozzi's Lehrart, Akademie der Wissenschaften*, von Fischer. Berlin.—*Bemerkungen gegen Pestalozzi's Unterrichtsmethode*, von J. N. Steinmüller. Zürich.

1804. *Pestalozzi's Idee eines A B C der Anschauung, untersucht und wissenschaftlich ausgeführt*, von J. F. Herbart. Göttingen.—*Briefe aus Burgdorf über Pestalozzi*, von A. Grüner. Hamburg.—*Darstellung und Prüfung der Pestalozzischen Methode in Burgdorf*, von Passavant. Lemgo.—*Historische Denkwürdigkeiten der helvetischen Staatsumwälzung*, von Zschokke.—*Kritik der Pestalozzischen Methode*, von Johansen. Jena und Leipzig.—*Beleuchtung der Pestalozzischen Groszsprechereien*. Erfurt.

1805. *Exposé de la méthode élémentaire de Pestalozzi*, par D. Alex. Chavannes. Vevey.—*Bericht an S^r Maj. den König von Preussen über das Pestalozzische Institut in Burgdorf*, von C. Witte. Leipzig.—*Geist der Pestalozzischen Methode*, von Ewald. Bremen.—*Einige Grundregeln der Erziehungskunst nach Pestalozzi*, von Plamann. Halle.

1806. *Briefe aus Münchenbuchsee über Pestalozzi und seine Elementarbildungsmethode*, von Türck. (2 vol.) Leipzig.—*Aufsätze für und gegen die Pestalozzische Unterrichtsmethode*.

1807. *Reise nach der Schweiz*. Torlitz, Copenhagen und Leipzig.

1809. *Pädagogische Mittheilungen*, von Kimly. Berlin.—*Ueber die Pestalozzische Lehrmethode*, von Süsskind. Stuttgard.

1810. *Rapport sur l'institut de M. Pestalozzi à Yverdon*, par le père Girard. Fribourg.—*Erfahrungen und Ansichten*, von Jos. Schmidt. Heidelberg.—*Prüfung des Werthes der Pestalozzischen Methode*, von d'Autel. Stuttgard.—*Ueber das Wesentliche der von Pestalozzi, etc.*, von Hagen. Erlangen.—*Pestalozzi, Hauptmomente seiner Methode*, von Lehmann. Königsberg.—*Geist und Vorschritte der Pestalozzischen Bildungsmethode*, von Ewald. Mannheim.—*Briefe aus einer Reise durch Süddeutschland, die Schweiz, etc.*, von Kessler. Leipzig.—*Ueber Pestalozzi's Grundsätze und Methoden*, von Aug. Herm. Niemeyer.—*Kurze und fassliche Darstellung der Pestalozzischen Methode*. Stuttgard.

1811. *Das Pestalozzische Institut an das Publikum*. (Niederer's work, with preface by Pestalozzi.) Yverdun.—*Ueber die Verbesserung des Elementarschulwesens in Preussen*, von Neumann. Potsdam.

1812. *Précis sur l'institut d'Yverdon*, par M.-A. Jullien. (Pamph.) Milan.—*Esprit de la méthode Pestalozzi*, par M.-A. Jullien. (2 vol.) Milan.—*Versuch einer Metakritik der Weltverbesserung, oder ein Wort über Pestalozzi und Pestalozzismus.* Ulm.—*Ueber die Schrift Pestalozzi's: Unternehmungen, etc.*, von J. H. Bremi. Zürich.

1812–1813. *Pestalozzi's Unternehmungen im Verhältniss zur Zeitkultur*, von J. Niederer. (2 vol.) Stuttgard.

1813. *Ueber Pestalozzi's Grundidee der Erziehung und Methode*, von Ladomus. Heidelberg.—*De l'Allemagne*, par Mme de Staël.—*Selbstschau*, von H. Zschokke.

1814. *Mittheilungen über Pestalozzi's Eigenthümlichkeit, Leben und Erziehungsanstalten*, von Henning (in Harnisch Schulrath).

1815. *Plan d'organisation pour les écoles primaires*, par F. Cuvier. Paris.

1818. *Der Kunstgeist, etc., oder Pestalozzi und seine Widersacher*, von Kniewel. Berlin.

1822. *Wahrheit und Irrthum*, von Jos. Schmidt.—*Wie Herr Jos. Schmidt die Pestalozzische Anstalt leitet*, von Jer. Meyer. Stuttgard.

1826. *Beitrag zur Biographie Heinrich Pestalozzi's und zur Beleuchtung seiner neuesten Schrift: Meine Lebensschicksale*, von Ed. Biber. St. Gallen.

1827. *Fellenberg's Klage über Pestalozzi.* Karlsruhe.—*Notice sur Pestalozzi*, par Mme Adèle du Thon. Genève.—*Notice sur Pestalozzi*, par Ch. Monnard, dans la *Revue encyclopédique* de Paris.

1828–1829. *Histoire de la Suisse, continuation de Müller*, par Ch. Monnard. —*Erinnerungen an Vater Pestalozzi*, von E. Fröhlich. Brugg.—*Pestalozzische Blätter*, von J. Niederer. (2 vol.) Aix-la-Chapelle.

1829. *Vaterlehren, ein Vermächtniss von Pestalozzi an seine Zöglinge*, von. H. Krüsi. Trogen.

1830. *Pädagogische Rede über Pestalozzi, etc.*, von Nägeli. Zürich.

1833. *Der dreimonatliche Bildungskurs*, von E. Fellenberg. Bern.

1834. *Pestalozzi's inedirte Briefe und letzte Schicksale*, von Fellenberg. Berg.

1837. *Kurze Skizze meines pädagogischen Lebens*, von. J. Ramsauer. Oldenburg.

1838. *Pestalozzi's Leistungen im Erziehungsfache*, von Heussler. Basel.

1840. *Erinnerungen aus meinem pädagogischen Leben und Wirken*, von H. Krüsi. Stuttgard.

1841. *Geschichte der Pädagogik*, von Dr K. Schmid.—*Denkschrift auf G. H. L. Nicolovius.* Bonn.

1843. *Pestalozzi*, von Dr Bandlin. Schaffhausen.—*Notice sur la vie de Pestalozzi*, par R. de Guimps, dans le Journal d'Yverdon.

1845. Diesterweg, Kalisch, Massmann, *Die Feier des hundertjährigen Geburtstags Pestalozzi's.* Berlin.—*Heinrich Pestalozzi*, von Diesterweg. Berlin. —*Niederer's Briefe an Tobler*, 1797–1803. Genf.—*Pestalozzi's Idee der Menschenbildung.* Nürnberg.—*Pestalozzi's Anstrengungen*, von Abs. Kalberstadt.—*Pestalozzi's Leben, Wollen und Wirken*, von Appel. Frankfurt.

1846. *Pestalozzische Blätter*, von Ramsauer und Zahn. Elberfeld und Moers. —*Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben bei Pestalozzi*, von Ackermann. Frankfurt.—*Heinrich Pestalozzi, etc.*, von K. J. Blochmann. Leipzig. *Die wichtigeren Grundsätze von Pestalozzi*, von Probst. Liestal.—*Pestalozziana*, aus dem Januarheft: *La Minerva.*—*Erinnerungen an H. Pestalozzi*, von Elditt. Königsberg.—*Vorträge an der Pestalozzischen*

Feier, von Heussler, Lehmann, etc. Basel.—*Der Geist von Vater Pestalozzi*, von Dr Bandlin. Zürich.—*Schulchronik*, von Zahn. No 1.—*Pestalozzi, der Revolutionnär*, von Bauer, sein Zögling. Charlottenburg.—*Heinrich Pestalozzi*, von Burgwardt. Altona.—*Pestalozzi's Leben und Ansichten*, von Christoffel. Zürich.—*Ein Wort zur Erinnerung an den hundertjährigen Geburtstag Pestalozzi's*, von Collmann. Kassel.—*Rückblick auf Pestalozzi, etc.*, von Kortum. Heidelberg.—*Ein Wort über Pestalozzi und seine unsterblichen Verdienste*, von Diesterweg. Berlin.—*Mittheilungen über Pestalozzi*, von Kröger. Hamburg.—*Heinrich Pestalozzi*, von Lueger. Hamburg.—*Pestalozzi. Rede zur Festfeier*, von Rosenkranz. Königsberg.—*Pestalozzi's Verhältniss zum modernen Leben*, von Scheuenstuhl. Ansbach.—*Rede bei der Säkularfeier Pestalozzi's*, von Thaulow. Kiel.—*Vorschlag zu einem Denkmal Pestalozzi's*, von Weiss. Merseburg.—*Pestalozzi, sein Leben und Wirken*, von der Schulsynode. Zürich. — *Pestalozzi's Idee der Wohnstube*, Vortrag zu Winterthur. Zürich.—*Die Feier des Pestalozzitages vor deutschen Frauen.* Berlin.—*Rede bei der Gedächtnissfeier Pestalozzi's*, von Hottinger. Zürich.—*Rede bei der Pestalozzifeier*, von Heer. Zürich.—*Pestalozzifeier in Dresden.* Leipzig.—*Pestalozzifeier in Hamburg.* Hamburg.—*Pestalozzifeier in Plauen.* Plauen.—*Pestalozzifeier in Bernburg.* Bernburg.

1847. *Pestalozzi und sein Neuhof*, von Jos. Schmidt.—*Pestalozzi*, von Bagge. Frankfurt.

1850. *Etudes sur la vie et les travaux de Pestalozzi*, ouvrage couronné par l'institut de France, par Th. Pompée. Paris.

1851. *Pestalozzi und Rousseau*, von Zoller. Frankfurt.

1853. *Biographie de H. Pestalozzi*, par Mlle Chavannes. Lausanne.

1854. *Franke, Rousseau und Pestalozzi*, von Kramer. Berlin.

1855. *Dinter und Pestalozzi.* Schulblatt Brandenburg, von Palmer. Brandenburg.—*Erinnerungen aus meinem Schulleben*, von Lange. Potsdam.

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1859. *Heinrich Pestalozzi und Anna Schulthess*, von Mörikofer. Zürcher Taschenbuch. Zürich.

1861. *Heinrich Pestalozzi*, von Roack. Leipzig.—*Die Schweizerische Litteratur des* 18. *Jahrhunderts*, von Mörikofer. Leipzig.

1863. *J. H. Pestalozzi*, von Schenkel. Heidelberg.

1864. *Karl Ritter, ein Lebensbild, etc.*, von Kramer. Halle.

1865. *Mein Lebensmorgen*, von Harnisch. Berlin.

1868. *Zur Biographie Heinrich Pestalozzi's*, von alt Seminardirektor Morf, Waisenvater in Winterthur (I. Band). Winterthur.—*Histoire universelle de la pédagogie*, par J. Paroz. Paris.—*Pestalozzi und der Pestalozzi-Verein*, von Aurich.

1869. *Pestalozzi*, von Harweck. Halle.—*Heinrich Pestalozzi, ein Lebensbild*, von Alberti. Berlin.

1870. *Das Wesen der Pestalozzischen Methode als Grundlage einer christlichen Erziehung*, von Heer. Zürich.—*Pestalozzi in Leipzig, Festrede.* In den Leipziger Blättern für Pädagogik. 3 Heft. Leipzig.—*Heinrich Pestalozzi*, von Ferd. Schmidt. Berlin H. Kastner.

1871. *Der Pädogog H. Pestalozzi*, von G. v. Zeschwitz, Erlangen.

1871–1872. *Pädagogische Reisebriefe*, von Seyffarth. (Preussisches Schulblatt. Berlin.

1872. *J. H. Pestalozzi*, von Seyffarth. Berlin.—*Souvenirs de L. Vulliemin.* Lausanne.—*Pestalozzi's sämmtliche Werke gesichtet, vervollständigt und mit erläuternden Einleitungen versehen*, von Seyffarth. (16 vol.) Brandenburg.

1873. *Pestalozzi*, par F. Bordier, ancien pasteur. Neuchâtel.—*Pestalozzi's sämmtliche Werke*, Nachträge von L.W. Seyffarth. Brandenburg, 2 vol. —*Rousseau und Pestalozzi*, Zwei Vorträge von Karl Schneider. Bromberg.—*Pestalozzi's Antheil an der Erneuerung des deutschen Volkes*, Vortrag von J. Wiesinger, Pfarrer. Kissingen.

1875. *Pestalozzi. Idee und Macht der menschlichen Entwickelung*, von Josephine Zehnder-Stadlin. Gotha.—*Pestalozzi, the influence of his principles and practice on elementary education*, by Jos. Payne. London.

1876. *Johannes von Muralt*, von Hermann Dalton. Wiesbaden.—*Pestalozzi. Notizie della sua vita e delle sue opere*, di G. Curti. Bellinzona.

1877. *Comenius und Pestalozzi als Begründer der Volksschule*, von H. Hoffmeister. Berlin.—*The School.* (A series of articles.)

1878. *Pestalozzi und seine Aussaat*, von G. Heer. Glarus.—*Heinrich Pestalozzi.* Ein Lebensbild, von Ferd. Schmidt. Berlin.

1879. *Die sozial-politischen Grundlagen der Pädagogik Pestalozzis.* Beilage zum Jahresbericht über die Realschule in Strassburg, von G. Köhler.—*Das Wesen der pestalozzischen Methode*, von J. Justus Heer. Zürich.—*Pestalozzi und Fellenberg*, von O. Hunziker. Langensalza.

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1882. *Die Pädagogik Joh. H. Pestalozzis in wortgetreuen Auszügen aus seinen Werken*, von A. Vogel. Bernburg.—*Ein Erziehungs-Haus im Geiste Pestalozzis und Froebels*, von Bertha Meyer. Zürich.—*Lienhard und Gertrud.* Neue Volks- und Jubiläumsausgabe. Zürich.—*Pestalozzi*, par Guillaume. (In Buisson's Pedagogical Dictionary). Paris.

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1884. *Jakob Heussi*, Erinnerungen aus dessen Leben, von A. Dühr. Leipzig.

1885. *Joh. H. Pestalozzi.* Ein pädagogisches Volksbuch, von Ed. Wiessner. Bernburg.—*Rousseau und Pestalozzi*, von O. Hunziker. Basel.—*Zur Biographie Pestalozzis*, von H. Morf. II. and III. Band. Winterthur.

1886. *Pestalozzi, élève de J.-J. Rousseau*, par F. Hérisson. Paris.—*Systematische Darstellung der Pädagogik Pestalozzis*, von A. Vogel. Potsdam.

1887. *Einige Blätter aus Pestalozzis Lebens- und Leidensgeschichte*, von H. Morf. Langensalza.—*Das Leben des Pädagogen Heinrich Pestalozzi*, von H. P. H. Grünfeld. Schleswig.—*Joseph Schmidt*, von. H. Morf. Winterthur.—*Biographie Pestalozzis*, von F. Man. (In den ausgewählten Schriften Pestalozzis.) Langensalza.